

A STUDY OF THE SOURCES AND DEVELOPMENT
OF THE
LEXICON OF SIERRA LEONE KRIO

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by

Ian Francis Hancock, Dip.O.A.S.

~c0o~

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School of Oriental and African Studies
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ABSTRACT

This thesis traces the origins and development of Sierra Leone Krio vocabulary, based upon the writer's own study and manuscript dictionary of that language, and on work with informants for most of the donor languages dealt with.

Part I deals with European-African contacts from the 15th to the 19th century, and with creolization as a linguistic process developing from this contact. Various theories of creolization are discussed, and the hypothesis advanced that Krio did not pass through a pidgin stage as is generally maintained, but became nativized during the first generation of speakers, and pidginized later. This chapter is followed by a discussion of the sociolinguistic aspects of Krio, and a description of Krio phonology.

Part II examines European material in Krio, the most important of which sources being English. The special rôle

of the nautical varieties of the language in the 16th-19th centuries is emphasized. Regional and Archaic British forms which are still retained in Krio are also discussed.

Parts III and IV deal with the African-derived items in Krio; from these chapters it is apparent that out of the complex multilingual situation of 19th century Freetown, comparatively few African languages have had any far-reaching impact upon Krio, and then usually only in specialized areas of the lexicon.

Part V is concerned with items derived from Arabic, all of which have entered Krio via one or more other West African languages. The majority of these items occur in a solely Islamic context.

Part VI covers other aspects of Krio vocabulary: items coined within Krio itself, having no apparent cognates outside the language, compounded forms traceable to two (or more) different source languages, 'convergence' forms with two or more equally likely etymologies, English-derived items calqued on African models, items obsolete in modern Krio but recorded in 19th century literature, and items for which no satisfact-

ory etymologies have yet been found.

Part VII (appendices) comprises the acknowledgements and list of informants, and the bibliography, including several references for Sierra Leone Krio not consulted in the preparation of this thesis. The final section is an alphabetical word-index to all the items discussed, (ca. 3,000).

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I.1.0.0 HISTORICAL BACKGROUND (1)

Apart from the unsubstantiated claim by the French that they visited the Sierra Leone region in 1366 (see II.3.0.0), records indicate that the first Europeans to arrive in the area were the Portuguese, in 1477 (see II.2.0.0). The local Temne inhabitants called the region "Romarong" or "Ro Marung", lit. "mountain place" (2).

I.1.0.1 Besides exporting local produce, the Portuguese engaged in a small slave trade with the coastal peoples, taking numbers of Africans to Europe (see II.2.4.2); these slaves were, during this initial period, also usually slaves in Africa itself, where slave-states had for long been in existence prior to the arrival of Europeans, and where slaves provided a ready item of barter.

-
- 1) More detailed historical data referring to specific groups and their languages may be found at the beginning of the relevant chapters.
 - 2) Much later convergence with "Maroon" is also possible.

I.1.0.2 The Peninsula was named Sierra Leona (see II.2.4.4.) by the sailor Pedro da Cintra, which name in modified form has been retained until the present day, and since the 19th century has been used for the whole country.

I.1.0.3 In 1562, a British seaman, John Hawkins, landed a cargo of slaves from this part of West Africa on the Caribbean island of Hispaniola — now Dominica and Haïti — and this date saw the beginning of the slave trade as a principal English interest in Africa and the New World. Not until over two centuries later did the British Parliament begin to take a more humane attitude toward the sale of human beings, when in 1787 it established Sierra Leone as a free colony for released slaves of African ancestry from Great Britain and its possessions. Granville Sharp, a key figure in the establishment of the Colony, assembled a pioneer party of 441 individuals, comprised of some 390 destitute African ex-slaves, and the balance English prostitutes, and sent them to Freetown where they

arrived May 9th under Captain Thompson, who purchased land for the Colony from the Temne chief King Tom (see IV.2.0.0). Within the first year, 240 of the colonists, known collectively as the "Black Poor", were to die as a result of disease and Temne attack, while others fled to other parts of the coast either fearing recapture or in search of their mother-tribe. This left the tiny remainder — only 48 by 1791 — with the almost impossible task of developing a successful colony, and these were **almost** entirely decimated by French troops in 1794 (see II.3.0.4).

I.1.0.4 The British Parliament, however, was not unaware of these difficulties, and in 1791 founded the Sierra Leone Company, the express function of which was to try to solve the financial and population problems of the Colony. During this same year, an African, Thomas Peters (or Peters) made a timely arrival in London from Nova Scotia to lodge an official complaint before Parliament regarding the ill treatment of freed slaves in that colony. He suggested that they be allowed to join the (by this time almost non-

existent) new Sierra Leonean colonists in Africa. The British Parliament agreed for the following reason: At the beginning of the American Revolution in 1776, the English authorities had stipulated that any American-owned slave who escaped to fight for the Crown would automatically be freed. Therefore thousands of slaves did this, and were accordingly given certificates of protection. They formed fighting bodies known as the "Black Pioneers", although despite their added support the English lost the war, and the Thirteen Colonies claimed the slaves back as their own, in accordance with the Treaty of Paris of 1783.

I.1.0.5 Not wishing to break their promise either to the freed slaves or to the Treaty, the English agreed to hand back all slaves to their former owners, providing that they could prove without question lawful ownership of each individual slave. Due to chaotic postwar conditions, very few Americans were able to do this, and only a small number of slaves were returned. Of the remainder, some 3,000 were shortly thereafter returned to Africa by the Sierra Leone Company.

I.1.0.6 Many other freemen were in Nova Scotia at this time as Empire Loyalists, and the Sierra Leone Company further agreed to accept as colonists in Freetown all of those who wished to go ⁽¹⁾, and who could produce satisfactory testimonials of character. Peters was given the task of recruiting willing candidates in St. John (New Brunswick) and Annapolis (Maryland) to take to Halifax in Nova Scotia, from where they were to sail to Freetown. There is to-day a substantial Black community in Halifax and other parts of maritime Canada, consisting of the descendants of those who decided to remain.

I.1.0.7 British naval lieutenant John Clarkson was to recruit others from different points in Nova Scotia and to join Peters' group for West Africa. In November 1791, Peters, with 84 immigrants plus his wife and children, arrived in Halifax. Clarkson arrived soon afterward with

1) For perhaps the majority of these people Africa was not the place of their birth, and their decision to go must often have followed considerable dubiety.

1,198 pioneers, and on January 15th, 1792, the voyage was started. The total number of persons lost at sea was only 65, a remarkably small number considering conditions of sea travel at that time, and on March 8th that same year the ships put into Freetown Harbour. It was at this time that the Colony was named Free Town, and Clarkson, who had become governor, considered the settlement truly established. Two years later it was to be razed to the ground by the French (see I.1.0.3, above).

I.1.1.0 Meanwhile in Jamaica, the Maroon War was to come to an uneasy halt under the terms of the Walpole Agreement in 1796. The Maroons ⁽¹⁾ were distinctive groups of fugitive Africans who had escaped and established renegade communities shortly after being landed. In 1734 they openly revolted, and the Europeans, outnumbered by 14 to one, read-

1) Variouslly derived from Spanish Marranos, "pigs", Mur-
anos, "Moors" or Cimarrones, "fugitives", the most
likely origin. Cf. French marron, English Maroon.

ily granted them officially both land and the right to govern themselves. This was not entirely satisfactory for either side, and in 1795, while a large part of the Jamaican militia was out of the island fighting in Saint Domingue (now Haïti), the Maroons took the opportunity to revolt once again. Troops were redirected to Jamaica, and the Maroons crushed ⁽¹⁾. The Walpole Agreement included the deportation of almost all the rebels, and a ban on their return to Jamaica which if broken, was punishable by death. This was in force until 1851. In June, 1796, they left Jamaica for Canada, arriving in Halifax a month later. Part of the citadel they helped build there is still known as the Maroon Bastion to-day. Land was purchased at Preston, N.S., for a permanent Maroon settlement, but the climate of the area, and its desolate terrain, made settlement difficult. Some Maroons left and made a home in Boydville, five miles from Halifax, where they took

1) From A. Garcia, History of the West Indies, London, (1965), p. 189.

up farming, but after four winters the majority left for Freetown, despite the fact that they had been welcomed in Canada ⁽¹⁾. They arrived in Sierra Leone at the end of September, 1800, on HMS Asia, numbering 550 ⁽²⁾.

I.1.2.1 The Maroons were to have settled in the Banana Islands to the south of the Peninsula, but were brought to Freetown instead to assist the other settlers in their resistance to Temne attack. This they were able to do successfully, and stayed in the Colony eventually building and inhabiting Maroon Town in the western area.

I.1.2.2 The number of original Maroon settlers diminished by more than half in the first decade, however, some going to other parts of the coast, especially the Gold Coast, and others dying as a result of the unhealthy climate.

-
- 1) The then governor of Halifax, Sir John Wentworth, called the Maroons a "great acquisition to the country" (Butt-Thompson (1952), p. 27).
 - 2) Peterson (1969), pp. 33-34.

Morão, in a letter from Freetown written in 1820 (1), noted that the death rate was so high there generally, that the population would inevitably decline were it not for the steady influx of Liberated Africans (I.1.3.0 below), and was convinced that the Maroons in particular were becoming extinct at a noticeable rate. By 1861 when the Jamaican Government finally lifted its ban on exiles, most of the remainder identifying themselves as Maroons (2) returned to that Island (see III.4.0.2 and III.4.4.0).

I.1.3.0 By 1820, the greater proportion of the population of Freetown already consisted of Liberated Africans (or Recaptives) who between 1808 and 1854 were arriving in the Colony from places as far away as Zanzibar, and from as near as the Bullom shore on the opposite side of the Sierra Leone Estuary. These were slaves who had been taken ille-

1) J.C. Morão, A description of Sierra Leone and its environs, Lisbon (1822), p. 16.

2) After 65 years most, if not all of these must have been born in Africa, and have retained their distinctiveness in the Colony.

gally after the abolition of slavery in 1808, and who were waylaid by the British Navy off the Guinea Coast and returned to Freetown rather than to their points of origin. It was these Recaptives who created the enormous linguistic diversity in the Colony (see III.0.3.0).

I.1.4.0 Other groups of newcomers to the Colony during the 19th century included the Cuffee Settlers, some 200 freed American slaves initially led by Paul Cuffee, who arrived between 1815-17 from Boston; the Americo-Liberians who arrived from the southern U.S.A. in 1816, and who waited at Freetown while the American Colonization Society negotiated for land at Cape Mesurado (where Monrovia is now located), some of whom may have stayed; the 12,022 African soldiers of the 2nd and 4th battalions to the West India Regiment, many of whom had West Indian wives, and who were discharged in Freetown in April, 1819; the 85 ex-slaves from Barbados who came in the same year, and the ca. 100 Recaptives from the unsuccessful settlement on Fernando Po, who arrived in 1828. There were also varying numbers of

German, Swiss and other European missionaries in the colony and protectorate, West Indian soldiers, British administrators, Syrian and Lebanese merchants, etc.

I.1.4.1 In 1820, the population of Freetown was composed of 86 Europeans, 20 Black Poor from London, 691 Nova Scotians, 487 Maroons, 1986 Recaptives, 650 indigenous Sierra Leoneans (i.e. people from the hinterland), and 250 soldiers of the 2nd and 4th West India Regiments. In addition there were 630 Liberian Kroomo. The total population of the Colony was 4636 (1).

- 1 1986 Recaptives
- 2 630 Kroomo
- 3 250 W.I. Regiments (2)
- 4 650 Indigenes
- 5 487 Maroons
- 6 691 Nova Scotians
- 7 20 Black Poor
- 8 86 Europeans

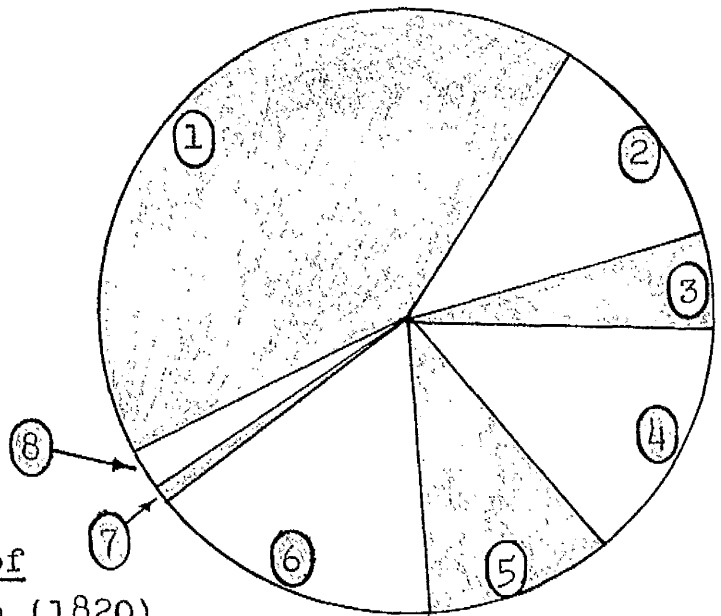


Figure 1: Composition of the Freetown population (1820)

1) Morão (op. cit.), p. 15.

2) This figure does not tally with that given by Bull-Thompson (I.1.4.0. supra)

I.1.5.0 These groups remained distinct from each other for many years, and even to-day some Creoles refer to themselves as Maroons or Nova Scotians; but generally such lineage has been blurred by time and intermarriage between the groups. The only group with any demonstrable distinctiveness now are the Oku Creoles of Yoruba ancestry (see III.1.0.0). The bulk of the present-day Creole population is composed of the descendants of the Recaptives (1808-1854), with an increasing degree of indigenous admixture.

I.1.5.1 While the population of 19th century Freetown was linguistically and ethnically heterogeneous, it was just one language, Krio, which was maintained as the lingua franca, and which has now replaced nearly all of the ca. 200 languages then spoken in Freetown, as the mother tongue of the Creole community.

I.2.0.0 LINGUISTIC BACKGROUND

What has to-day become Krio has been spoken on the West African coast probably since the late 16th or early 17th century, and is related to creoles spoken elsewhere on the West African littoral and in the New World.

I.2.0.1 The tremendous linguistic diversity of Freetown in the 19th century, the fact that many Recaptives had a knowledge of some form of Pidgin English (see III.3.0.0), and the prestigious position of Krio as the language of the Europeanized administrative class, all contributed to its emergence as the first language of the community.

I.2.1.0 The term "Creole" is an old one (cf. Sranan kri-yóro), and its derivation has been discussed at length by Valkhoff (see II.2.4.4) who concludes that it is of Portuguese origin. There is no known record of its use in Sierra Leone before the 19th century, and even then it was applied to the people and not their language. Clarke (1843) writes of "Creoles" where earlier visitors have referred to the colonists as "Settlers", "Liberated Afri-

cans", "Maroons", etc. In the present thesis, "Creole" refers to the people, and "Krio" to their language (1).

I.2.2.0 Creolization and pidginization

Krio is a creolized language; while there is still a variety of theories attempting to explain how and why creoles come into existence, the basic definition is that a creole is a pidgin which has become a first language, or mother-tongue (2).

I.2.2.1 The most recent definition of a pidgin (3) is that it is the product of "that complex process of sociolinguistic change comprising reduction in inner form, with convergence, in the context of restriction in use". Subsequent creolization — not an inevitable process — entails "that complex process of sociolinguistic change comprising expansion in inner form, with convergence, in the context of ex-

-
- 1) Cf. Guyana Creole "Creo'" (Cruickshank (1916), p. 45.).
 - 2) Although recent work (e.g. by Lawton, in Hymes [1971]), indicates that this may not necessarily be the case (see I.2.4.6).
 - 3) Hymes (op. cit.).

tension in use (1)". In other words, a pidginized language is one which derives from (usually) one base language, which has been sheared of all but the bare structural and lexical essentials necessary for communication; it may also develop in a very short space of time.

Assuming this to be so,

I.2.2.2 A creolized language may develop when as a result of social factors, the pidginized language of a particular area becomes the current language, and ousts whatever were the original languages, eventually supplanting them entirely. This does not appear to take place where only two languages are involved, but in complex multilingual situations where the main reasons for the emergence of one particular language as the lingua franca ~~is~~ ^{are} its prestige and adaptability (2).

1) Hymes, op. cit.

2) Creoles are not now normally prestige languages, but in the early years of contact, pidgin-speaking Africans were thought to be speaking the relevant European language by their monolingual kin (cf. the Temne ká-potho, "Krio" and "English", or the archaic use of Krio ínglis to mean "Krio").

I.2.3.0 There are three main schools of thought regarding the development of pidgin and creole languages: Some creolists such as Göbl-Gáldi (1) and Hjelmslev (2) subscribe to the theory of parallel independent development (the polygenetic theory), the similarities between for example Louisiana and Cayenne Creole French being accounted for by their both having developed under similar circumstances in the mouths of ethnically and linguistically-similar peoples, attempting to speak French and making the same modifications. This theory is not popular to-day, having been replaced by the monogenetic theory (3) with adherents such as Whinnom (4),

- 1) L. Göbl-Gáldi, "Esquisse de la structure grammaticale des patois français-créoles", Zeit. für französische Sprache und Literatur, LVIII (1934), pp. 257-295.
- 2) L. Hjelmslev, "Caractères grammaticaux des langues créoles", CISAE Compte Rendue de la 2nd session (1939).
- 3) First proposed (perhaps unwittingly) by J.J. Thomas in 1870. See Hancock (1969) pp. 31-32, n. 5.
- 4) K. Whinnom, "The origin of the European-based creoles and pidgins", Orbis, XIV (1965), pp. 509-527.

Thompson (1) and Stewart (2). This postulates a single early pidgin derived from Portuguese (Whinnom suggests Sabir), which was taken to different parts of the globe ready made, where it supplied the structural foundation for later creole languages, the syntactic framework remaining intact while the lexicon was replaced with items from the languages of later colonial visitors, thus accounting for similarities in widely separated areas. The third theory is based upon the notion of the universal deep structure of all human speech, and maintains that in generative terms the deep structure of creolized languages is closer to the surface structure than with most non-creolized languages (3), therefore reflecting a basic similarity implying an "innate knowledge

-
- 1) R.W. Thompson, "A note on some possible affinities between the creole dialects of the Old World and those of the New", CLS, II (1961), pp. 107-113.
 - 2) W.A. Stewart, "Creole languages in the Caribbean", in F. Rice (ed.), Study of the rôle of second languages, Washington (1962), pp. 34-53.
 - 3) Although presumably this does not include isolating type

of the deep structure of all human language; and for some reason yet undiscovered (...i.e. simplification; telescoped changes) creoles make more apparent these shared features ⁽¹⁾". It may be that all three processes have contributed in some way to the development of these languages.

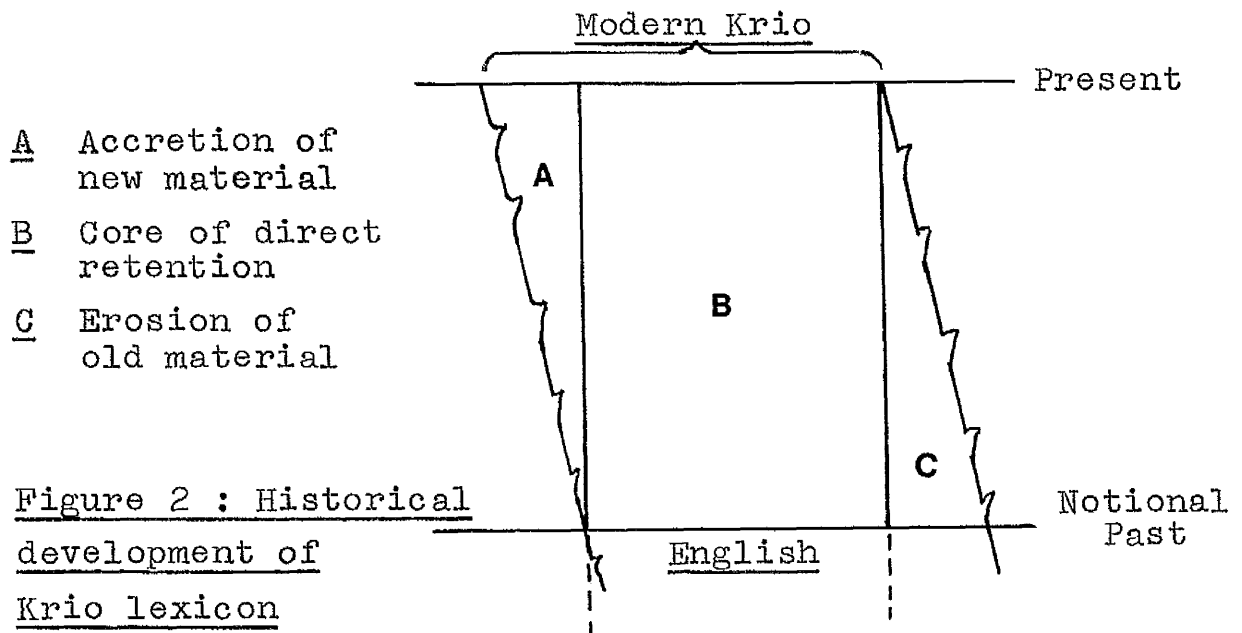
I.2.4.0 The development of Krio

Krio is defined for the purpose of this thesis as English-derived, because its core of direct retention goes back to pre-1600 English, which it shares with modern English, and nothing else. This concept ⁽²⁾ serves as a useful criterion for determining the genetic affiliations of

languages such as Chinese or Yoruba.

- 1) Carole Molony, "Processes of Philippine Creole Spanish lexical change", privately-circulated schema of proposed fieldwork in Philippines, Stanford U. (1970).
- 2) Outlined in D. Dalby, "A referential approach to the classification of African languages", in Papers of the Conference on African languages and linguistics, Urbana (1970).

so-called "mixed" languages. The following diagram will illustrate:



Eroded material (C) in Krio is for the most part beyond recovery, although chapter VI.5.0.0 discusses some items now obsolete, recorded in the 19th century. With the exception of II.1.0.0, English, the present thesis discusses accreted material (A).

I.2.4.1 Apart from the possibility of an African-derived lingua franca dating from pre-European times in West Africa serving as the base for later European-derived pidgins ⁽¹⁾,

1) Thomas, in Hancock, loc. cit.

the earliest of the latter was Portuguese-derived. That this may have been directly influenced by Sabir has been suggested by Whinnom, who in a later addition to his 1965 paper ⁽¹⁾ notes that Professor P.E. Russell of Oxford has suggested in correspondence that the first place in which a Portuguese-derived pidgin is likely to have developed "would not be in West Africa proper at all, but in the very important Portuguese trading-station, fort, and village on Arguin Island, east of Cape Blanco. This was Sanhadja (i.e. Berber-speaking) country, but, under Ma'qil suzerainty, the region had many Arabic speakers also, so that it is probable that the language of trade was initially either Arabic or the Lingua Franca which was the medium of Mediterranean Arab-Christian communication".

I.2.4.2 There cannot have been any kind of English-derived pidgin used by Africans before the 1530's at the ear-

1) Whinnom (op. cit.) plus separate sheet of addenda and corrigenda, privately circulated. The present quote is to follow paragraph 3, p. 522, of the original paper.

liest, since this is the date of the beginning of English presence in West Africa ⁽¹⁾. During the 1550's, Africans were brought to England to learn English, and returned to the Gold Coast area, but they would have learned a metropolitan variety with little or no modification. Records show that during these early voyages to the Coast, English seamen employed Portuguese (or Portuguese pidgin) in their dealings with local residents, although these were often Portuguese lançados and merchants (see II.2.0.4) and not Africans, especially in Sierra Leone.

I.2.4.3 English visits to the Coast were few and far between until after ca. 1610. Hair ⁽²⁾ suggests a point further north on the Coast, in what is now Senegal, as the original foothold of Pidgin English in West Africa, although

-
- 1) Captain Hawkins made sporadic voyages to the Pepper Coast (now Liberia) during the 1530's.
 - 2) In personal correspondence. See also his "The use of African languages in Afro-European contacts in Guinea", African Language Review (formerly the Sierra Leone Language Review), V (1966), pp. 5-26.

with the Portuguese having gained so firm a foothold along the Upper Guinea coast, Portuguese-derived pidgin continued to be used for some time, even in English-controlled areas ⁽¹⁾. It is probable, therefore, that a specifically English-derived creole developed not as a trade language, which already existed in the pidginized Portuguese, but as the home language of a geographically fairly limited area, viz. around the forts and trading stations, by the mulatto offspring of English sailors and African mothers. Thus relexification from an earlier Portuguese-derived pidgin is not likely to have taken place, but rather supralexification: lexicon-building rather than lexicon replacement.

I.2.4.4 It is possible that there were two main periods of supralexification: in the first instance it might have taken place during the earliest years of pidgin acquisit-

1) Jobson (1620) records Portuguese spoken in the Gambia, but does not specify whether it was pidginized or not.

ion in the settlements along the Guinea coast, when it was used only sporadically between Africans who shared a common tribal language, and Europeans. The Africans would have soon discovered that their Portuguese-derived pidgin proved of little use when attempting to communicate with English sailors (far from most of whom would have been conversant with Portuguese or Portuguese Pidgin), and concurrence of the Portuguese- and English-derived items would have been short lived, the latter taking prominence as England established her own footholds in West Africa, and as contact with Portuguese speakers subsequently lessened. The second period of supralexification would have been perhaps a century later, i.e. around the turn of the eighteenth century, when the slave trade was well-established and the coast pidgin sufficiently deep-rooted for its retention. During this second period the pidgin would have been employed less between African and European than amongst Africans of different linguistic backgrounds. The process of supralexification may have taken three courses:

firstly, the items in the earlier pidgin being quickly forgotten, as happened during the first period (e.g. the word "kollilu", the name of a spinach-like vegetable, listed as having been used in Sierra Leone 250 years ago, according to Astley in his Voyages, but now surviving only in French-speaking West Africa and the West Indies); secondly, both items being retained in the pidgin with the same meaning and frequency (e.g. Krio blay, from Portuguese, and baskít, from English, both meaning "basket"), or else one gradually superceding the other (e.g. Sranan ánson, "attractive", from English, which is being ousted by Dutch-derived moy), and thirdly, the retention of both terms with specialized meanings (e.g. Krio pikín, Portuguese-derived and meaning "baby, child", and bebí, English-derived and meaning "doll") (1).

I.2.4.5 The forerunner of modern Krio does not, then, appear to have originally developed as a vehicle for trade,

1) From Hancock (òp. cit.), p. 31, n. 25.

but as a domestic language which was quickly creolized in a series of enclaves along the Upper Guinea coast. Its expansion as a trade language, and its resulting diffusion (see figure 3) would have come about later, during the second period of supralexification. In this respect it differs from the Portuguese-derived pidgin, which appears to have functioned solely as a trade language from earliest times⁽¹⁾. Evidence supporting the more northerly development of this English-derived creole is supplied by a quotation from F. Moore, viz. "The English have in the River Gambia much corrupted the English language, by Words or by Literal Translations from the Portuguese ⁽²⁾". When the continuum spread to the Sierra Leone area, it was learned as a fully-fledged linguistic system by the inhabitants who retained it as a second, although not pidginized, language. This has happened

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- 1) Unless a situation paralleling the one outlined here obtained for Portuguese on Arguin (see I.2.4.1 above).
 - 2) F. Moore, Travels into the inland parts of Africa, London (1734), p. 294.

elsewhere, e.g. in the Cameroons, and amongst the Kroo, in each case a creolized English being employed, often with considerable fluency, but not as a mother tongue except in some specialized cases. Situations such as these suggest that existing terminology is in some need of revision.

I.2.4.6 It will be demonstrated (in II.1.0.0 below) that modern Krio has retained far more features of English origin than is at first apparent, and that this may be attributed to its not having been learned so much by adult Africans as a second language, as by Eurafrican children as a first language from their parents. Until the first generation reached the age of parenthood, the mothers in the communities were exclusively African and the fathers European, and we may assume that it was during this time that the creole was acquired — more or less pidginized by the mothers, but ready-creolized by the children. The fathers spoke their own varieties of English fluently, while the mothers spoke the local African language, and, one may as-

sume, the language of their (European) men with varying degrees of fluency. It is probable that the women gained a good command of the men's speech, since under such social conditions lack of time was not a factor, as coastal West Africans they were probably not newcomers to a multilingual situation, and in any case in all contact situations the aim is to understand and to be understood. This is clearly best achieved by imitation — as faithful as possible — rather than by distortion (1).

I.2.4.7 Working on the premise that the first type of English spoken natively in West Africa was creolized, but not initially highly Africanized, it may be concluded that

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- 1) This distortion has been attributed to both European and African; intentional hypocorism on the part of the former (see Hjelmslev, op. cit.), and inherent backwardness on the part of the latter (various sources propounding this view are discussed in Turner (1949), pp. 5-11).

the English used in the situation was itself already distinct from the metropolitan varieties, and had become so independently of African influence.

1.2.4.8 While the above processes may have operated for Krio in particular, the development of the Atlantic group of creoles as a whole has followed a far more complex process, in which linguistic diversity has been greater, time often shorter, and the social conditions certainly unhappier. The extent to which non-creolized English, or the variety discussed here, provided the model for other, lexically-related creoles, has also been significant in determining their differences and similarities. A survey of these has been published by the writer elsewhere (1).

1) Hancock (1969). Figure 3 has been reproduced from this.

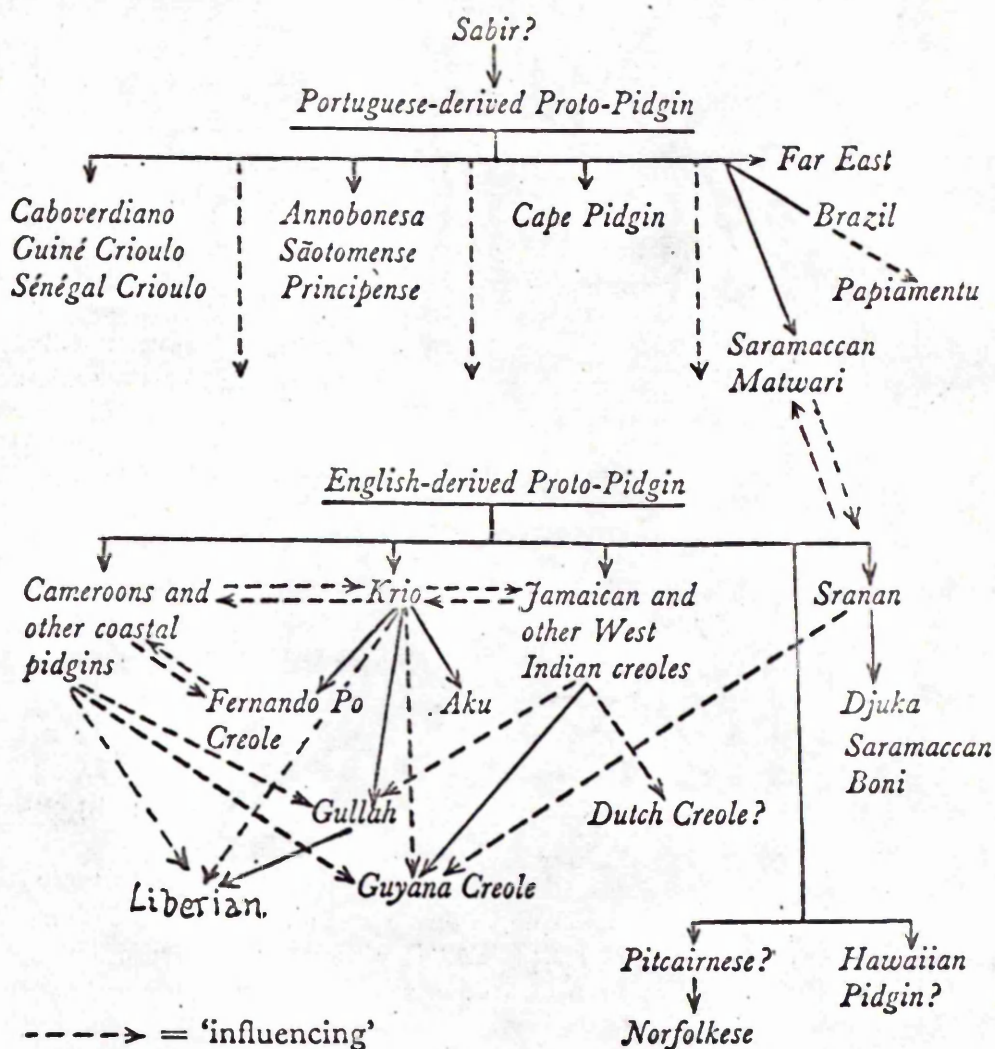


Figure 3 : The Portuguese- and English-derived Atlantic creoles (adapted from Hancock [1969] pp. 26-27). See I.2.4.8.

I.3.0.0 THE KRIO LANGUAGE

Krio is the first language of the Creole population in Freetown, and in the Creole villages in the Sierra Leone Peninsula (see Figure 6). It is also spoken on Bonthe Island and in the Banana Islands, and by Creole residents of inland towns such as Bo or Makeni.

I.3.0.1 Krio, "Pidgin Krio" and Pidgin English are also employed as *lingue franche* throughout the country, the last often between the local and expatriate populations there.

I.3.0.2 The estimated number of native speakers ranges from 20,000 ⁽¹⁾ to 120,000 ⁽²⁾ according to different sources; allowing for the urbanized and detribalized indigenous Sierra Leoneans who have settled in and around Freetown, and for whose descendants Krio has become a first

1) Berry (1961), p. 1.

2) R.J. Harrison-Church, West Africa, London (1963), p. 307, where Krio is stated to have 65,000 urban and 55,000 rural native speakers (1955 estimate).

language, the number of native speakers may now be in the region of 200,000.

I.3.0.3 The number of "true" Creoles ⁽¹⁾ is dwindling as a result of intermarriage with non-Creole Sierra Leoneans, but the overall number of Krio speakers is gradually increasing, as is the number of Sierra Leoneans adopting the Creole life-style. Instances of Creoles adopting the life-style and language of one of the local indigenous groups are exceedingly rare, and invariably involves the marriage of a Creole woman with a non-Creole man.

I.3.1.0 Krio is also spoken in Bathurst, the Gambia, by between 3,000-4,000 persons as a first language (see III. 6.0.1), and is used alongside a modified form of Wolof as

1) Some Creole families refer to themselves as nétan or nétal Krio (<Eng "natal") or yóyó Krio (<SY ōyóyó, "beautiful"), meaning that their lineage has no mixture of local blood. Other terms exist for Creoles whose families have intermarried with local indigenous people (e.g. kangbé [see IV.3.4.3]).

a lingua franca throughout the country. Gambian Krio, more often called Aku or "Patois" in that country, differs from that spoken in Sierra Leone principally in intonation and lexicon, including a number of items from local languages which are unknown in Freetown. The reverse situation also applies.

I.3.1.1 According to reports from Creoles with relatives there, a more conservative form of Krio has been preserved in several small enclaves in Guinea and Senegal, where Creole traders have formed their own Krio-speaking communities in non-English-speaking environments. Another more conservative form of Krio, known as potó or "Porto" talk, is spoken by Creoles whose ancestors came originally from Freetown, and who are now living on Fernando Po ⁽¹⁾ and

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- 1) Sierra Leonean laborers were shipped in considerable numbers, and without Government sanction, to Fernando Po by A.T. Porter in the years following 1885 (Fyfe, [1962], p. 504). A half-century earlier, in 1844, Alfred Saker landed 43 Jamaicans on the island, and there had also been earlier attempts at settlement (I.1.4.0).

São Tomé (Krio sentomí). A small community of Creole speakers of Freetown origin is also resident in Victoria, West Cameroon ⁽¹⁾. The Krio of these speakers exhibits considerable lexical and syntactic influence from Cameroons Pidgin. During the mid and late 19th century Sierra Leonean Creoles were present in considerable numbers in Nigeria, where their own Krio had considerable influence upon the local varieties of Pidgin ⁽²⁾.

I.3.2.0 Krio dialects

Krio occurs in two main varieties in Sierra Leone: As the maternal language of the Creole community (K1), and as a second language of much of the indigenous population, sometimes in pidginized form (K2).

1) Fyfe (op. cit.), p. 381.

2) Dealt with in detail in J. Elizabeth A. Tonkin, Some aspects of language from the viewpoint of social anthropology, with particular reference to multilingual situations in Nigeria, unpub. D.Phil. thesis, Oxford (1970), Ch. 10.

I.3.2.1 K2 for some speakers may of course be indistinguishable from K1, especially when the speaker has been brought up in the City. Normally, however, K2 has certain characteristics making it immediately identifiable as such, which reflect the phonology and structure of the speaker's maternal language. Such features include the frequent substitution of [r] (Temne) or [l] (Mende) for Krio [ɣ], [y] for [dʒ] (Temne) and [h] for [f] (Limba), or the addition of a final vowel, usually by speakers of Mende, to Krio items with closed final syllables, e.g. K2 tíki < K1 tik, "tree" (< Eng "stick"). Temne speakers tend to monophthongize [ay] to [ɛ], e.g. K2 óret < K1 órayt, "all right".

I.3.2.2 Awareness of these modifications is indicated by the occurrence of overcorrected forms such as plédža and distródž (K1 pléya, distróy, "player", "destroy"), recorded from Temne speakers in Pepel, or refán (K1 lefán, "left hand"), recorded from a Mende. This may extend to non-English-derived items, cf. K2 (Temne) ládžilá for K1 láyílá, an exclamation of wonder or surprise, derived from Arabic (see V.0.4.4). Probably because this item is not English-

derived, the overcorrected pronunciation has gained some currency in K1.

I.3.2.3 In some coastal areas Krio appears to have existed for many years without ever supplanting the indigenous languages. The Temne/Susu residents of Pepel, for example, on the north shore of the Sierra Leone Estuary 14 miles from Freetown, are fluent in Krio, and maintain that it has been spoken there (i.e. as K2) for several generations. This suggests that there is a considerable time-depth of K2 use outside the original Colony. It was also noted ⁽¹⁾ that K2 as spoken in such situations retained a number of features obsolescent or obsolete in urban K1, e.g. the use of items such as bitáwt, "without" (cf. general K1 witáwt), or paravéntšo, "peradventure", i.e. "perhaps" (cf. general K1 sontém), or phonological

1) Observations in this paragraph are based upon the writer's own fieldwork in Pepel, and upon later conversations with K1 speakers.

forms such as éside, "yesterday" and trángul, "strangle", rare in K1.

I.3.3.0 The principal varieties of K1 are those reflecting the speaker's social background.

I.3.3.1 Upper-class Creoles tend normally to prefer the use of English in the home, and may even forbid Krio to be spoken there. Children from these homes will learn Krio from their peers, however. Nevertheless the Krio spoken by those from such environments is usually highly Anglicized in lexicon and phonology, and speakers of this variety may frequently claim that they cannot understand "broad" or "deep" Krio. Examples of this variety include na dé a(y) stóp (contrast regular na dé a táp), "that is where I live", í na e bít ov e róg (contrast regular na róg, without the English idiomatic "bit of a"), "he's a (bit of a) rogue". There may also be use of such terms of address as olbóy, "old boy", or oltšáp, "old chap", by speakers of this type of Krio.

I.3.3.2 It is often maintained that there exists a form

of the language known as "deep" Krio, which is supposedly largely unintelligible to the average Krio speaker, especially those identifying most closely with English culture (see I.3.3.1). There is in fact no single variety of the language which could be called "Deep Krio"; what is meant by this is Krio spoken with a minimum of influence from metropolitan English upon pronunciation, vocabulary or grammar — features shared to a greater or lesser degree by all speakers. One informant, a girl of sixteen years brought up in Freetown, consistently uses the pronunciation /ret/ for "right" and "write", while another of forty-seven years declares this to be old-fashioned, and uses /rayt/. Certainly some phonological forms are now generally considered old-fashioned and are restricted to elderly speakers, especially in the Peninsula villages where less English is heard. A further oft-quoted characteristic of "Deep Krio" is the much more extensive use of African-derived words and expressions (see III.5.0.2), although presumably there must have been instances during the 19th century when the African component was greater

than the Krio which was in the process of being acquired, so the notion that the ability to speak "Deep Krio" indicates exceptional mastery of the language cannot be a very old one.

I.3.3.3 Several Kl speakers have stated (in conversation) that they are able to distinguish between a Christian and a Muslim (Oku) Creole by their speech alone. The sole example which it was possible to elicit was that for "How do you do, Madam?", a Christian Kl speaker invariably saying adú má, while an Oku Creole will say mamí áádu. While the distinction is subjective, the latter does reflect the commoner Yoruba word-order for greetings.

I.3.3.4 A further subjective distinction has been obtained between Creoles of Settler and Creoles of Maroon ancestry. The former are reputed to employ the phonological forms nó and nóba ("not", "never"), and the latter ná and nába. Again, it may be demonstrated that a form of the negating particle na or naa does exist in Jamaican Creole, although so few Creoles can nowadays be sure of their origins that such observations must largely be treated as folklore.

I.4.0.0 KRIO PHONOLOGY

I.4.1.0 Consonant phonemes

The following 24 consonant phonemes are distinguishable in Krio:

/p, b, t, d, k, g, kp, gb, f, v, s, z,
š, ž, r, tš, dž, m, n, ny, ŋ, l, y, w/

The glottal stop [ʔ] and the glottal aspirate [h] occur, but are not phonemically distinctive. The following classification of consonant phonemes may be set up for Krio:

	Bi-labial	Labio-dental	Alve-olar	Palatal	Velar	Labio-velar	Glottal
Plosive	p b		t d		k g	kp gb	(ʔ)
Fricative		f v	s z	š ž	r		(h)
Affricate				tš dž			
Nasal	m		n	ny	ŋ		
Lateral			l				
Approximant				y		w	

I.4.1.1 Plosives (/p, b, t, d, k, g, kp, gb, (ʔ)/).

All plosives with the exception of /kp/ and /gb/ may occur initially, medially and finally. /p/, /t/ and /k/

are aspirated in all positions (*other than preconsonantly*):

/p/ (= [pʰ]) pépe "pepper", supín "serve a writ", wep "wipe".

/b/ (= [b]) butá "fishing weight", bíba "hat type", džib "jeep".

/t/ (= [tʰ]) tenk "thank", rónáta "chase", at "hard".

/d/ (= [d]) dem "damned", flandó "flounder", pred "spread".

/k/ (= [kʰ]) korɔ "inner corner", fakalé "intoxicated",
buk "to butt".

/g/ (= [g]) gízi "Kissy", agógó "bell type", bayg "bag".

/kp/ (= [kp̚]) kpókpó "to maul", ɔkpá "cudgel".

/gb/ (= [gb̚]) gbinikú "mildewed", yagbá "to worry".

For discussion of the behaviour of these two phonemes, which do not occur in English-derived items, see III.1.2.11.

The glottal stop (ʔ) may occur in prevocalic emphatic position: [na ʔí] "it's him", or intervocalically in some ejaculations: [ʔáʔá!] or [ʔéʔé!], "expression of shock or surprise". Note too [ʔmʔm] "no".

I.4.1.2 Fricatives (/f, v, s, z, š, ž, r, (h)/).

All fricatives, with the exception of /ž/, may occur in initial, medial and final position:

/f/ (= [f]⁽¹⁾) floré "a turn, go", lefá "raffia fan", breɸ
"breath".

/v/ (= [v]⁽²⁾) vomí "loincloth", avlés "to snub", grev
"grave".

/s/ (= [s]) swindž "sing", ásis "ash", bíyas "journey".

/z/ (= [z]) zaná "elephant grass", mezó "dull-witted person",
prez "praise".

/š/ (= [ʃ]) šan̩katá "shea-butter", fášin "to fasten", wolš
"waltz".

/ž/ (= [ʒ]) žīyí ⁽³⁾ "one who should know better", lažó "mo-
ney".

-
- 1) Turner (1965) p. 11 gives the bilabial fricative ([ɸ]) as the Krio value of this phoneme. While this occurs in Gullah, upon which language Turner has worked extensively, no instance of its existing as an allophone of /f/ has been recorded for Krio by the present writer.
 - 2) Turner (loc. cit.) maintains that the bilabial fricative ([β]) or the labiodental frictionless continuant ([v]) are the more usual values of /v/ in Krio; not noted by the present writer.
 - 3) This item is not part of the regular Krio lexicon, but

/r/ (= [ʁ+])⁽¹⁾ rep "ripe", arará "(nothing) at all", wer "veer" (2).

The glottal aspirate (h) may occur in initial prevocalic position in emphatic pronunciations: hála-ála "shout" (< "holler"), hópin-ópin "open", etc.

belongs to the vocabulary of a cryptic variety of slang which gained wide currency in Freetown in the late 1960's, and which is called /kúžwalis krió/. Initial /ž/ has not been located for any item in general Krio vocabulary.

- 1) An advanced voiced velar fricative for most K1 speakers, with the alternative realization as a dental flap ([ɾ]) for most K2 speakers. Berry (1961) p. 4 calls this a uvular fricative ([ʁ]) as does Ladefoged (1966) p. 66. Turner (op. cit.) p. 10 calls it a "uvular flapped sound but with less retraction of the tongue than is required for the French uvular flapped r". Wilson et al. (1969) p. 8 call it a "strongly labialized velar spirant somewhat like the r-sounds of (Parisian) French...". In the present writer's opinion Krio /r/ is neither flapped nor labialized at all, nor is it as retracted as Parisian French uvular [R].
- 2) Noted finally in only three other items, viz. ber "bury", ker "accompany" (< "carry") and tšer "to tear".

I.4.1.3 Affricates (/tš, dž/).

These may occur in all positions.

/tš/ (= [tʃ]⁽¹⁾) tšalamáta "mat type", atšikí "fishing-net type", klintš "to toss a coin".

/dž/ (= [dʒ]⁽²⁾) džimbóri "kettle type", džékuđžé "morsel", lé-ládž "to sprawl".

I.4.1.4 Nasals (/m, n, ny, ŋ/).

/m/ and /n/ may occur in all positions, /ny/ may not occur finally, and /ŋ/ may not occur initially or intervocalically ⁽³⁾:

/m/ (= [m]) mawlá "sweetheart", áma "hammer", drim "dream".

-
- 1) Approaching [c] (voiceless palatal plosive) for some — mainly Oku — speakers.
 - 2) Approaching [ɟ] (voiced palatal plosive) for some — mainly Oku — speakers.
 - 3) Except in the case of compounded items, e.g. tɔŋól "town hall" (tɔŋ+ɔl), doŋwés "style of (ladies') dress with lowered waistline" (doŋ "down" + wes "waist").

/n/ (= [n]) nɔrɔ "ill fortune", ánóba "deliver", grin
"green".

/ny/ (= [ɲ]) nyams "yam", ónyon "onion".

/ŋ/ (= [ŋ]) yɛŋkí "Yankee", pɔŋ "pound".

I.4.1.5 Laterals (/l/).

Clear in all positions; occurs initially, medially and finally:

/l/ (= [l]) lástik "elastic", alán "Alan", skidál "skedaddle".

I.4.1.6 Approximants (/y, w/).

These occur in all positions:

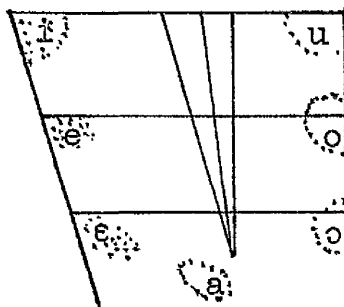
/y/ (= [j]) yɛk "be startled", wáya "wire", fray "fry".

/w/ (= [w]) wɛ "to squeeze laundry", áwa "hour", kaw "cow".

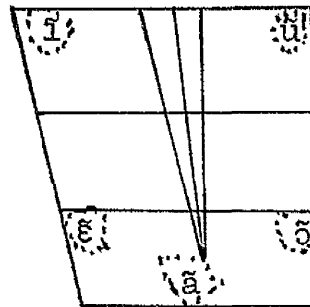
I.4.2.0 Vowel phonemes

Krio operates a seven oral, five nasal vowel system:

Oral



Nasal



The rising diphthongs are ay, aw and ɔy, and are mono-

syllabic. Other possible vowel combinations are ia, iu, io, ea, eo and ua, although these may sometimes conveniently be treated as CV or VCV (ya, yu, yo, eya-eya, eyo and wa) rather than as VV. The distribution of the vowel phonemes is as follows:

/i/ (= [i]) igén "again", džínral "General", gládi "glad".

/e/ (= [e]~[ɛ+]~[eʰ]) ébul "able", klem "climb", tidé "today".

/ɛ/ (= [ɛ]~[ɛ+]) ɛŋ(g) "hang", kɛk "play truant", lékɛ "like".

/a/ (= [a]~[a+]) antš "ant", rákit "rocket", dra "drawer".

/ɔ/ (= [ɔ]) ɔkókí "deaf person", fotó "photo", dro "draw".

/o/ (= [o]~[oʰ]) os "house", pot "report", to "to".

/u/ (= [u]) us "which", krut "recruit", kamarú "Cameroons".

/ĩ/ (= [ĩ]) ísay "inside", sís "since", fí "the slightest thing".

/ɛ̃/ (= [ɛ̃]) ɛwí "wood sp.", sɛ̃s "sense", dɛ̃ "they".

/ã/ (= [ã]~[ã+]) ása "answer", dās "dance", kã "come".

/õ/ (= [õ]) õskrú "crazy", rõwé "flee", sidó "to sit".

/ũ/ (= [ũ]) (not initially), kúyekúye "with stealth",

atókũ "masquerader's attendant".

[ẽ] and [õ] do not normally occur in Krio as distinct phonemes ⁽¹⁾, although nasalization may be ~~indicated~~ ^{assimilated} from an adjacent nasal consonant. Thus omwók "homework", yon "own", éndžel "angel", etc., may be phonetically realized as [õmwók], [yõn], [éndžel], etc., but never as *[õwók], *[yõ], *[édžel], etc.

I.4.3.0 Krio syllabic structure

The following permissible V (vowel)/C (consonant) combinations occur: V, CV, CCV, CCCV, VC, VCC, CVC, CCVC, CCCVC, CVCC, CVCCC, CCVCC and CCCVCC. The limitations on individual combinations are as follows:

- V: Any V (a "I", e "vocative marker", u "who").
- CV: Any C + any V (ba "bar", gi "give", to "seed sp.").
- CCV: Where C₂ can be /l, r, w, y/ after /b, g, k, p/ + any vowel, /w, y/ after /tš/, /r, w/ after /d/, /l, r, y/ after /f/, /r, w, y/ after /t/ and /y/ after /l, n/, all + any vowel. C₂ may be /k, l,

1) Cf. Yoruba, III.1.1.6. In Krio, /ẽ/ occurs in one ideophone, kế, "intensity of dryness": i dráy kế, "it's bone dry".

m, n, p, t, w/ after /s/: blo "blow", tšwe
"tiny", sto "store".

CCCV: $C_1 = /s/$, $C_2 = /p, t, k/$, $C_3 = /r/$, + any V:
skru "screw", stre "stray", stro "straw".

VC: Any V + any C: ak "hawk", ib "heave", it "eat".

VCC: Any V + $C_1 = /p, t, k/$ when $C_2 = /s/$, or C_2 is
a homorganic plosive when $C_1 = /N/$. C_1 may be
/y/ when V = /a, o/, or /w/ when V = /a/: aks
"ask", int "hint", ayd "hide", oɣl "oil".

CVC: Any C_1 + any V + any C_2 : rep "ripe", šeb "share".

CCVC: As for CCV above, + any C_3 : trek "strike", fray
"fry", frɔš "effervesce", swag "swerve".

CCCVC: As for CCCV above, + any C_4 : skrim "scream".

CVCC: Any C_1 + any V + /N/; $C_3 = /N/$ before homorganic
plosive or /s/, or /s/ when C_4 is /p, t, k/.
 C_3C_4 may also be /l+t/ or plosive + /s/: bɛlt
"belch", džɔŋk "pigtail", maks "take aim".

CVCCC: Any C_1 + any V; $C_2C_3 = /N/$ + homorganic plosive,
 $C_4 = /s/$: wɔŋks "knock against", džɔŋks "rummage
sale".

CCVCC: As for CCV above, + $C_3C_4 = /N/$ + homorganic plosive (or $/l+k/$ in one item, viz. skolk, "to loiter"): swindž "sing", drink "drink", blant "customary action marker".

CCCVCC: Only one item noted: strand "to be stranded".

Where the word "any" precedes the symbols V and C above, this indicates that such a combination is ^{structurally} ~~phonemically~~ permissible in Krio, and not that all such permutations are necessarily meaningful.

I.4.4.0 Prosodic features

The non-linear, or suprasegmental phonemes discussed here are tone, intonation and juncture.

I.4.4.1 Tone

No adequate description of Krio tone/stress has emerged to date. It appears that syllable-stress is significant in Krio both lexically and grammatically, and operates on two levels, viz. high (H) and low (L). Syllables are marked for prominence (high tone) in the present thesis with an acute accent ('), both in isolation and in sequence. Low-tone

syllables are unmarked. Final closed syllables (i.e. ending in a consonant) carrying H-tone in sequence-final position are generally realized as falling (F); final open syllables (i.e. ending in a vowel) in the same environment usually maintain their H-tone; cf.

dá pamáy dé` "that palm-oil there" dá pamáy` "that palm-oil".
dá watá dé` "that water there" dá watá` "that water".

H-tones on adjacent syllables not in the same word have automatic downstep between them for some speakers:

a dón[!]gó de ~ a dón gó de "I have been there".

Examples of tonal distribution are as follows:

a) Monosyllables: L, H

i dón gbo "it has become infused (e.g. of herbs)"

i dón^(!)gbó "he has become wizened"

na dē sú "it's their shoe"

na dē^(!)sús "it's those shoes"

b) Disyllables: LL, LH, HL, HH

oka "scalp affliction"

oká "viper"

- LH watá "water, liquid" (n.)
 HL wáta "to sprinkle water on" (v.)
 LH kokó "coco-yam"
 HH kókó "bump, lump, callus, corn"

c) Trisyllables: LLL, LLH, LHH, LHL, HHH, HHL, HLL, HLH

- LLL kasara "wilful damage"
 LLH propotí~propatí "property"
 LHH krubómbó "loin-cloth"
 LHL tumára~tamára "tomorrow"
 HHH kásáṅké "shroud"
 HHL pétési~kpétési "storey-house; illicit liquor"
 HLL kpákanda "brazen, stubborn"
 HLH tšóntšontšón "fussily, agitatedly"

d) Quadrisyllables: LLLL, LHHH, LLHH, LLLH, HHHH, HLLL, HHLL, HHHL, HLHL, HLLH, HLHH, LLHL, LHLH, LHHL, LHLL, HHLH.

All permutations occur:

- LLLL kpɔtɔkpɔtɔ "gently bubbling (of rice in a pot)"
 LHHH agándási "clothing"
 LLHH bamapólón "ideophone of bleakness or bareness"
 LLLH adžireké "West Indian"

HHHH	<u>físiwálí</u>	"ingratitude"
HLLL	<u>fébiwari</u>	"February"
HHLL	<u>fítífata</u>	"willy-nilly, at random"
HHHL	<u>džákítómboy</u>	"cassava leaf"
HLHL	<u>dúmbuléku</u>	"bass-drum type"
HLLH	<u>bísabodí</u>	"nosy person"
HLHH	<u>ésentélé</u>	"name for a pet dog"
LLHL	<u>dondondáya</u>	"downstairs"
LHLH	<u>gbotólombó</u>	"promiscuous girl"
LHHL	<u>enímédži</u>	"somersault"
LHLL	<u>baynókyula</u>	"binoculars"
HHLH	<u>kúkúndukú</u>	"fried sweet potatoes"

e) Pentasyllables: Few non-compounded items in Krio have more than four syllables. Examples of ~~stress~~^{tonal} variation on pentasyllabic items include:

LHHLL	<u>baníyádama</u>	"mankind"
LHHHL	<u>ekélódžóti</u>	"a tale-bearer, alarmist"
LHLLH	<u>ewéyakukó</u>	"Indian heliotrope"
LLLHH	<u>geremošéké</u>	"finery, regalia"

I.4.4.2 Examples of sequential distinction expressed by tone-contours include:

a go báý(!) fís` "I will buy fish"

a gó(!) báý(!) fís` "I went and bought fish"

a bin go gí am "I should have given (it to) him"

a bin gó(!) gí am "I went and gave (it to) him"

i lúk lek am "he looks like him"

i lúk(!) lék am "it looks as though he likes it"

na mí(!) wán(!) dú am "I did it by myself"

na mí wan du am "It's me who wants to do it"

I.4.5.0 Intonation

In addition to tone, items (or sequences of items) in Krio carry the additional suprasegmental feature of intonation. This differs from tone in that it occurs without any alteration of lexical meaning as a result, but expresses the mood of the speaker, conveying commands, interrogation, urgency, etc. No systematic analysis of Krio intonation has been attempted as part of the present study ⁽¹⁾; an example

1) See Berry (1970b) for one treatment.

of one function of intonation, viz. to distinguish between declarative and interrogative utterances, will illustrate one aspect of this feature. The use of a minimal pair (džín-dža "ginger"/džíndžá "albino") in this example shows the behaviour of both tone and intonation when they occur in the same sequence:

<u>na džíndža</u>	"it is ginger"	[. . .]
<u>na džíndžá</u>	"he is an albino"	[. . .]
<u>na džíndžá?</u>	"is it ginger?"	[. . ']
<u>na džíndžá?</u>	"is he an albino?"	[. . ']

I.4.6.0 Juncture

In English, internal juncture is manifested in several ways, e.g. by absence of prepausal release, sustaining continuants (/m/, /n/, /r/, /l/, etc.), drawling prepausal diphthongs, and so on; cf. English light+housekeeping~lighthouse+keeping ⁽¹⁾. In Krio, this juncture is generally non-distinct-

1) See R.H. Hall, Jr., Introductory linguistics, Philadelphia (1964), pp. 108-113.

tive, e.g.

na dotí-bóks` "it's a garbage can" (N+N)

na dotí bóks` "it's a dirty box" (A+N)

yu bin fo+más` "you should have put on speed" (Prep+V)

yu bin fom+ás` "you acted the fool" (V+N)

a wán si+garét` "I want to see an attic" (V+N)

a wán sigarét` "I want a cigarette" (N)

When it is evident, it is in terms of stress alone, reflecting inherent pitch from the individual items (1):

yu bin fo+sí` "you should have seen" (Prep+V)

yu bin fósi "you were inquisitive" (V/A)

na wes-pépa "it is toilet paper" (N+N)

na wés(!)pépa "it is waste paper" (A+N)

1) Even consonant gemination is no indicator as in English (cf. "penning", "penknife" ['penɪŋ], ['pen,najf]), since it does not occur in Krio: penéf "penknife", tšobóks "hamper" (<"chop box"), lampós "lamp-post", fišinét "fishing net", etc.

II.0.0.0 EUROPEAN LANGUAGES

The European donor-languages evident in Krio are English, Portuguese and French. No items from German, Spanish or Dutch have been located, although Creoles often popularly maintain that these languages have also contributed to the vocabulary of Krio.

II.0.1.0 The first European-derived contact language to be employed in West Africa was Portuguese (see I.2.4.1-3), which was also used by other European visitors, the English included. A comparatively small number of Portuguese derived items from the Portuguese contact-language have survived in Krio, and it is doubtful whether they were ever very numerous ⁽¹⁾. French-derived items are even fewer.

1) Because (in the view of the present writer) the Portuguese- and the English-derived contact languages were separate developments. Adherents of the relexification theory (I.2.3.0) would disagree with this statement.

II.0.1.1 Local varieties of metropolitan (i.e. non-creolized) French, Portuguese and English are spoken in West Africa alongside creolized or pidginized forms of each, the latter having considerable lexical, and often structural, effect upon the former.

II.0.2.0 Because of the very similar historical circumstances surrounding the presence of these European nations in the Atlantic area, a certain proportion of their respective vocabularies is held in common; many of the items listed in Mauny (1952) for West African French, and Wilson (1962) for Guiné Creole Portuguese, also occur in Krio, and even in Cameroons Pidgin English. In some circumstances the interim European language for an ultimately American item (such as džigá "sand-flea" or nanás "pineapple") in Krio cannot be ascertained with certainty, especially in the case of Portuguese, and it is more convenient to treat such words as the common property of each.

II.1.0.0 ENGLISH

In tracing the development of Krio from English, it is necessary to examine the types of English with which West Africans first came into contact.

II.1.0.1 Assuming that the English element in Krio was introduced in the late 16th or early 17th century (see I.2.4.2), the principal variety in the West African situation at that time was nautical ⁽¹⁾. In addition, it reflected regionalisms from nearly every part of the British Isles (fig. 4), and therefore differed in this important respect from all other insular regional dialects. These were the result of the provenance of the seamen of that period, and the distribution of the major ports ⁽²⁾.

1) And continued to be the case for the next three centuries.

2) A ship bound for the Guinea Coast out of, say, Glasgow, would have unloaded and taken on cargo, as well as crew, at several ports (e.g. Liverpool, Bristol, Plymouth) before leaving British waters. The resulting linguistic diversity is discussed below, at II.1.3.0.

II.1.0.2 An examination of Krio vocabulary suggests that the speech of early English-speaking visitors to West Africa — sailors, traders, travellers, missionaries, etc. — contained many lexical, as well as morphological and syntactic features now either geographically restricted to non-standard English dialects, or which have become obsolete in metropolitan English altogether.

II.1.0.3 While the largest group of English speakers throughout most of the period of Krio development were sailors, other varieties of the language have also contributed to the lexicon, not only from the speech of European visitors, but also from Black colonists from the West Indies, North America, etc., who spoke various forms of English, creolized or otherwise, and who settled in Freetown during the 19th century (see I.1.4.0).

II.1.0.4 The forms of the bulk of the English-derived lexicon are traceable to the sources listed above. Any description of the phonological correlation between Modern Krio items and their English models can be approximate only, since written references are the only sources available for our know-

ledge of pre-19th century speech. In the present chapter, Matthews (1935 and 1937) and Dobson (1968, vol. II) especially have been consulted.

II.1.0.5 In addition to reflecting a wide variety of British dialect pronunciations, the phonology of Modern Krio has also undergone modification resulting from interference from the languages of the African speakers in the contact situation. Nevertheless Krio forms have undergone remarkably little phonological change, and in the majority of cases an apparent divergence between a Modern Krio and a Modern English cognate (e.g. "brimstone"/brumstón, "rinse"/rentš, etc.), are in reality retentions of earlier British forms.

II.1.1.0 Phonological correspondences

Following the procedure employed in the DJE for the historical phonology of Jamaican Creole, the phonemes of Sierra Leone Krio are described here as reflexes of those of modern educated southeastern British English, generally known as RP ("received pronunciation"). This provides an indication of the normal processes of phonological assimilation of new items as they are adopted into Krio from English — a continuing

process. Where divergences from the regular reflexes occur, these are also noted; those correspondences followed by (d.) have also been noted in one or more regional dialect of English (see II.1.4.0).

II.1.1.1 Consonant phonemes

a) Plosives

Kr /p/ : RP /p/ regularly in pep "pipe", džomp "jump", etc.

: RP /b/ before /s/ in apskón "abscond", ápsɛn(t) "absent", apstén "abstain", etc., (d.).

Kr /b/ : RP /b/ regularly in bánsul "bounce", ébul "able".

: RP /v/ in most older items, e.g. ébi "heavy", bíba "beaver (hat)", (a)basák "haversack", kambás "canvas", rébrɛn "reverend", sában "servant", etc.

: RP /p/ in džib "jeep".

Kr /t/ : RP /t/ regularly in toys "toy", put "put", etc.

: RP /tʃ/ in belt "belch".

: RP /θ/ in tri "three", ketráyn "Catherine", etc., (d.).

: RP /d/ in at "hard", lent "lend", tšúpit "stupid", wunt "wound", etc., (d.).

Kr /d/ : RP /d/ regularly in déde "dead", dip "deep", ayd

"hide", etc.

: RP /ð/ in da(t) "that", di "the", fáda "father" (d.).

: RP /t/ in dódul "jot, iota (≪dottle)", pádna "partner", spads "spats" (d.).

~ RP /l/ in džigifúd~džigifúl "trickery" (≪? + "fool", cf. JC džigifú "to fool one"), nil~nid "knead" (1).

Kr /k/ : RP /k/ regularly in ak "hawk", kek "cake", etc.

Kr /g/ : RP /g/ regularly in gi "give", gig "hoop (≪gig)", etc.

: RP /k/ in ɔgzón "morning coat (≪Oxon.)", ɛgzám "examination" (d.).

: RP /dž/ in agitét "agitate", gavás "Gervais (via /džavás/, spelling pronunciation)" (2), gilyán "Gillian".

Kr /ky/ : RP /k/ before the front vowel /a/, in kyábin "ca-

1) And in the non-English-derived items dantégé~lantégé "to chat" (≪ Mnk dantégé, ditto) and alíkálí~adikádi "a boys' society" (≪ Mnk alkálí).

2) Cf. also the alternant forms diyambá~džambá~gyambá "hemp" (≪ Mnk džambá, ditto).

kyámbul "Campbell", kyamp "camp", kyan "(tin)can; cannot", kyándul "candle", kyant "cant, tilt; cannot", kyãwúd "camwood", kyap "cap", kyápin "captain", kyá-pínta "carpinter", kyápsáy "casize", kyapsgón "cap-pistol", kyas "cask; to cast, throw", kyasnét "cast net", kyastóf "to cast off (naut.)", kyasš "cash", kyat "cat", kyatfís "catfish", kyatnáyntel~kyatnáynten "cat o' nine tails", skyamp "fish sp. (≪scamp)" (d.).

Kr /gy/ : RP /g/ before the front vowel /a/ in gyad "guard", gyadrúm "guard-room", gyal "girl", gyál-pikin "daughter", gyáli "galley, kitchen", gyálik "garlic", gyam-bé "the Gambia", gyámbul "gamble", gyap "yawn, gape (≪dialectal "gap")", (d.).

: RP /g/ before /e/ in the single item gyet "gate", probably a retention of the JC rising diphthong in giet, ditto.

Kr /kp/ has no reflex in RP (1).

-
- 1) This alternates with /p/ for many speakers: kpélé ó ~ pélé ó "bless you" (≪SY ditto); Temne speakers may substitute /gb/ for this phoneme.

Kr /gb/ has no reflex in RP (1).

b) Fricatives

Kr /f/ : RP /f/ regularly in fis "fish", biyáf "be off!" etc.

: RP /v/ in dayf(a) "dive(r)", klif "cleave, cling",
muf "move", sɔfiya "survey", wef "wave".

: RP /θ/ in arífmítik "arithmetic", báfrayt "birth-
right", báftɔb "bathtub", brɛf "breath" (d.).

Kr /v/ : RP /v/ regularly in vɛks "vexed", vákɔm "vacuum",
víkul "vehicle", etc.

Kr /s/ : RP /s/ regularly in san "sun", písís "pieces" etc.

: RP /z/ in as "as", drísul "drizzle", drɔs "drawers",
galós "gallows", klos "clothes", nos "nose", trɔsís
"trousers", etc.

: RP /ʃ/ in ásís "ashes", brɔs "brush", bus "bush",
ínglís "English, Krio", set "shut", tíklís "ticklish",
was "wash", etc.

- 1) This alternates with /b/ in some idiolects: ɔbɔɔ~ɔgbɔɔ
"gourd sp." (≦SY gbɔɔ). Some fluctuation may also oc-
cur between /gb/~ /kp/, e.g. lagbálagbá~lakpálakpá "ring-
worm" (≦SY lakpálakpá), etc.

: RP /tʃ/ in fes "fetch", us "which".

: RP /θ/ in the single item bóswe "by joint effort (≪both ways)".

Kr /z/ : RP /z/ in prez "praise", zut "zoot (i.e. a style of dress)".

: RP /s/ in gárizin "garrison", gízi "Kissy", swiz "Swiss", trozó "trousseau".

Kr /š/ : RP /ʃ/ in šip "ship/sheep", fášin "fashion", puš "push", etc.

: RP /s/ in fášin "fasten", ramšák "ransack", šašé "chassis", šéwé "(in the) same way", šífta "sift", wolš "waltz", etc, see IV.2.3.0.

: RP /ʒ/ kōfíšon "confusion", měšco "measure", pléšco "pleasure", telivíšon "television", etc.

Kr /ž/ : RP /ʒ/ only in a few recently-acquired items, e.g. ruž "rouge"; the normal reflex is RP /ž/ Kr /š/.

Kr /r/ : RP /r/ regularly in rábiš "ravish", bre "nag (≪bray)", tšer-tšyer "to tear", etc.

: RP /l/ in britš "bleach", forín "fall in(to line)", penáriti "penalty", rapél "lapel; jacket style",

"scroomasser" "schoolmaster" (VI.5.1.3) (1).

: RP /d/ in grap "get up (via /gerap/ < /gedap/)", mé-resin "medicine", kasára~kasáda "cassava (< cassada)", baróf "struggle" (< bad off) (2), etc. (d.).

~ RP /w/ in wiltréd~riltréd "spool (< wheel thread)", woróm~roróm "worm" (3).

~ RP /n/ in tóróbó~tónóbó "turn over, somersault".

The characteristic velar articulation of the Krio /r/ phoneme has been discussed above at I.4.1.2. The possibility has been put forward by Creoles in conversation that this quality may derive from contact with the English dia-

- 1) And in the non-English-derived item rakpalá~lakpalá "to engage in horse-play" (< SY rakpalá, ditto).
- 2) And in the non-English-derived item sáráká~sádáká "charity, alms" (< Mnk sádáká, ditto), and gedéfé~gerífé "An Oku dancing society" (< SY gerífé "a masquerader").
- 3) And in the non-English-derived item ronsó~ronšó~wonšó "a spirit" (< Te a-ronsó < Mnk donsó, ditto).

lect of County Durham, which also has a characteristic /r/ phoneme (but uvular, not velar). Fourah Bay College has been affiliated with the University of Durham for many years, and still sends Creole scholars to that county for higher education. However, this sound is apparently mainly confined to the speech of rural and working-class urban residents of Durham, with whom Sierra Leonean students would less likely have come into contact.

c) Affricates

Kr /tš/ : RP /tš/ regularly, in tšotš "church", tšomí "chum", etc.

: RP /dž/ in oríntš "orange".

: RP /t/ in sawakráwtš "sauerkraut", skotšfrí "scot-free", tšer~tšyer "to tear", tšibús~tibúš "tea bush", tšítša "teacher", tšúpit "stupid", etc., probably under influence from Temne, in which language [tš] is an allophone of /t/ (see IV.2.3.0).

: RP /š/ óktšín~ókšín "auction", riktšó "rickshaw".

Kr /dž/ : RP /dž/ regularly, e.g. in džodž "judge", džúwel "jewel", pedž "page", etc.

: RP /d/ in džínamayt "dynamite", krəsbrídž "cross-breed (i.e. mulatto)" (1).

: RP /g/ in džatrúd "Gertrude", džiniyén "Guinea-hen", dródžis "druggist".

d) Nasals

Kr /m/ : RP /m/ regularly, e.g. mol "maul", áma "hammer", drim "dream", etc.

: RP /n/ in aydadám "eiderdown", ídem "heathen", katúm~katún "carton".

: RP /ŋ/ in dom "dung", trim "to thread a needle (< string)".

Kr /n/ : RP /n/ regularly, e.g. no "not", an "hand", etc.

: RP /m/ in dónáydul "damned idle", džirényon "geranium", épsin "Epsom (salts)", posmótin "post-mortem".

-
- 1) And in the non-English-derived items džandžukú "rough person" (<SY džandukú "restless person"), kakándža "a Nupe (< Kakanda)", kpandžukú "paraphernalia (<SY kpāndūkū, "basket for oddments")".

tem", romantízin "rheumatism".

: RP /ŋ/ in fíšin "fishing", kenfíša "kingfisher",
kindžimí "King Jimmy (district)", etc. (d.).

Kr /ny/ : RP /ny/ regularly in nyu "new", etc.

: RP /niə/ regularly in nyáli "nearly", ónyon "on-
ion", etc.

: RP /y/ in nyams~yams "yam", nyon (obs.)~yon
"young" (1).

Kr /ŋ/ : RP /ŋ/ in en "hang", tron~tránga "strong", etc.

: RP /n/ in don "down", lin "lean", pon "pound/pawn",
ton "town".

e) Lateral

Kr /l/ : RP /l/ regularly, e.g. lo "low", ála "holler", ol
"old/hold/whole", etc.

: RP /r/ in donglín "dungarees", lapá "wrapper",

- 1) And in the non-English-derived item nyangá~yangá "van-
ity" (<SY yangá, ditto).

splen "sprain", trawslín~trawsrín~trawsín "pinstripe suit material (≪trouserling)" (1). This variation may be due to interference from Mende phonology, see I.3.2.1 and IV.1.3.4a.

f) Approximants

Kr /y/ : RP /y/ regularly, e.g. yəs "yes", yu "you", etc.

: RP /dʒ/ in yəlí "jelly", yísno "just now", both largely replaced by džəlí, džísno in K1; probably resulting from interference from Temne phonology, see I.3.2.1-2.

Kr /w/ : RP /w/ regularly, e.g. wi "we", wel "well", etc.

: RP /r/ in ombwéla "umbrella", see III.1.2.11.

~ RP /b/ in witáwt~bitáwt "without".

II.1.1.2 Vowel phonemes

Kr /i/ : RP /i/ regularly in íntšis "inch/hinge", pit "spit",

- 1) And in the non-English-derived items fritámbo~flitámbo "deer sp" (see III.4.4.4) and tšaramáta~tšalamát "type of rush mat" (≪ ? + Eng mat).

tin "thing", etc.

: RP /iy/ in did "indeed", lin "to lean", fil "feel".

: RP /ey/ in fíba "favour (i.e. resemble)", lidóm
"to lie down (<lay down)".

: RP /e/ in biré "beret", giráp~grap "get up", indžin
"engine", kítul "kettle", trímbul "tremble", tšíya "chair",
leftínant "lieutenant", džínral "general", etc. (d.).

: RP /æ/ in kin "can", timáp~tináp "to stand (up)".

: RP /o:/ in tináda "tornado".

: RP /e/ in kómpin "company", ópin "open", etc.

: RP /u/ in ginét (obs.) "good night".

: RP /yu/ in džániwari~džénwari "January", fébiwari "Feb-
ruary", kofí(-oda) "curfew(-order)".

Kr /e/ : RP /ey/ in kres "crazy", tek "take", tret "straight".

: RP /i/ in rentš "rinse" (d.).

: RP /iy/ in talé "tally"

: RP /e/ in bed "bed", beg "beg", ébi "heavy", ébri
"every", ed "head", eg "egg", etc.

: RP /eə/ in éria "area", ferí "fairy", merí "Mary".

: RP /æ/ in ketráyn "Catherine", ketš "catch".

: RP /ʌy/ in klem "climb", wep "wipe".

: RP /ə:/ in šébra "Sherbro".

: RP /o/ in wétin "what (<what thing)".

: RP /oy/ in es "hoist", (d.).

Kr /ɛ/ : RP /ɛ/ in red "red", sel "sell", step "step" etc.

: RP /ɛə/ in frešé "fresh air", swe "swear".

: RP /i/ in ef "if", fadenló "father-in-law" (d.).

: RP /iy/ in belé "belly", yerí "hear".

: RP /ey/ in begnét "bayonet", frem "frame", entí
"indeed (<ain't it)", mek "make", nem "name", snek
"snake", etc. (d.).

: RP /æ/ in bléda "bladder", fæg "fag (i.e. cigarette)",
geŋ "gang", kerékta "character", léda "ladder", stab
"stab", etc.

: RP /ʌ/ in set "shut", ténda "thunder", wens~wans
"once".

: RP /ʌy/ in fedó "Fido", léke "like, as", lem "lime",
nef "knife", pep "pipe", rep "ripe", ret "right/write",
trep "stripe", trek "strike", wef "wife", etc.

: RP /ə/ in béte "better", bóge "fellow (<bugger)",
pépe "pepper".

: RP /e:/ in sékyúla "circular", šet~šat~šot "shirt".

: RP /o/ in éleba "hell of a".

: RP /ou/ in féle "fellow".

Kr /a/ : RP /a/ in at "hard/heart", fáda "father", ka "car".

: RP /i/ in am "him".

: RP /iy/ in bísabodí "busybody".

: RP /ɛ/ in džálas "jealous", karožín "kerosine",
matrás "mattress", nába~nóba "never", yála "yellow".

: RP /æ/ in ápul "apple", kyap "cap", man "man", etc.

: RP /ʌ/ in ambóg "humbug (i.e. annoy)", as "hush",
báŋgalo "bungalow", bráda (obs.) "brother", gwáta~góta
"gutter", nat "nut", rámpul "rumpled", san "sun", etc.

: RP /ʌy/ in flanšíp "airplane (<flying ship)", kána~
kánaba "kind of a".

: RP /ʌv/ in adú "how do (you do)", granát "groundnut".

: RP /ə/ in džaráf "giraffe", fádam "fathom", kóba
"cover", masáka "massacre", etc.

: RP /e:/ in gyal "girl", áli "early", lan "learn",

mási "mercy", sában "servant", wása "worse", etc. (d.).

: RP /ɔ/ in ála "holler", blant "belong to", drap "to drop", džab "job", lángá "long", rákit "rocket", etc. (d.).

: RP /ɔ:/ in ak "hawk", dra "drawer", fak "fork (in a branch)", máta "mortar".

: RP /ou/ in ararút "arrowroot", mína "minnow", píla "pillow", šála "shallow", tináda "tornado", wítla-wíkla "whitlow", yála "yellow" (d.).

Kr /ɔ/ : RP /ɔ/ in dog "dog", soks "sock", og "hog", etc.

: RP /ɔ:/ in fɔ "for", lɔ "law", ɔn "horn", etc.

: RP /e/ in nóba "never".

: RP /iy/ in tro "three (in counting)", trópens "three-pence".

: RP /æ/ in komiýél "chameleon", kəntánkɾəs "cantankerous", móta "matter, pus", stóma "stammer".

: RP /ʌ/ in bɔtrí "buttery", fɔn "fun", kɔp "cup", mɔŋkí "monkey", ɔp "up", etc.

: RP /aʊ/ in dɔŋ "down", džísno "just now", kənt "to count", sídóm "sit down", téno "until now", tɔŋ "town".

. RP /ʊ/ in bózom "bosom".

: RP /ə/ in kópa "money (≪copper)", oləbót "all about, everywhere".

: RP /e:/ in bəd "bird", fəs "first", koťší "curtsey".

: RP /ov/ in fəťó "photo", moťó "motor".

Kr /o/: RP /ov/ in bot "boat", got "goat", trot "throat", etc.

: RP /ey/ in do "day".

: RP /ʌ/ in bókit "bucket", bónyən "bunion", džomp "jump", óvin "oven", etc.

: RP /ʌv/ in os "house", póda "powder".

: RP /ə:/ in atóni "attorney", bózri "bursary", nózri "nursery".

: RP /ɔ:/ in fos "force", glóri "glory", fo "four", flo "floor", mol "maul", po "poor", pot "report", so "sore", nóvel "novel", sod "sword", etc.

: RP /u/ in bógi "boogie(-woogie)", lodó "Ludo", to "to", wataló-wotló "Waterloo".

Kr /u/ : RP /u/ in u "who", tu "two", tšun "tune", etc.

: RP /v/ in buk "book", kuk "cook", put "put", etc.

: RP /i/ brumstón "plant sp. (≪brimstone)", us "which".

: RP /æ/ in kušú "cashew".

: RP /ov/ in krušé~kušé "crochet".

: RP /ə:/ in kulí "curly".

: RP /ɔ:/ in múnin "to mourn (≡mourning)".

Kr /ay/ : RP /ʌy/ in fayn "fine", kayn "kind", ayt "height",
tray "try", etc.

: RP /æ/ in bayg "bag", flayg "flag".

: RP /ɔy/ in grayn "groin", langabáy "tall person (≡
long boy)", pamáy~pamáyl~pamáyn "palm-oil".

: RP /e/ in skwáya~kwáya "square".

Kr /aw/ : RP /ʌv/ in aw "how", kaw "cow", awsáy "outside" etc.

Kr /ɔy/ : RP /ɔy/ in boy "boy", oyl "oil", toys "toy", etc.

Kr /we/ : RP /ɔy/ in bwel "boil", pwel~poyl "spoil".

For English-derived items in Krio, \tilde{V} is an allophonic variant of V+N, e.g. ása-ánsa "answer" (see I.4.2.0).

II.1.1.3 Simplification of clusters, consonant assimilation and reduction of syllables

The phonemic structure of the English dialects generally admits more consonant clusters than the majority of West African languages, and it was during the process of assimilation to West African phonological patterns that English probably

underwent much of the phonological modification reflected in modern Krio. It is also likely that some of the features described below were already current in the speech of early European visitors to the Guinea Coast, either as a reflection of the speech of non-British crew members, or of one or other regional British dialect. The most extensive simplifications involve the plosives /p/, /t/ and /k/; initial /s/ preceding these is lost in older items, although the process does not appear to be a continuing one for newly-acquired items from English:

Examples are for Eng /sp/ > Kr /p/, pétikul "spectacles", pit "spit", plit "split", pred "spread", pun "spoon" and pwel~poyl "spoil", for Eng /st/ > Kr /t/, tambáy "stand by", tan "stand", tangéns "stand against", tap "stop", tat (obs.) "start", te "stay", tik "stick, tree", tikín "stick in", tináp~timáp~tanáp "stand (up)", tiŋk (obs.) "stink", tómok "stomach, chest", ton "stone, penis", torí "story", tof "stuff, pus", tomp "(tree)stump", tránga "strong", trángul "strangle", trap "(hit with a) strap", tréndza "stranger, guest", tret "straight", trek "strike", treŋk "strength", trep "stripe",

trin "string", trip "strip", trit "street", trok "stroke" and tron "strong", and for Eng /sk/ ≥ Kr /k/, káta(káta) "scatter(ed)", kratš "scratch", krep "scrape", krim (obs.) "scream", krøb "scrub", kwáya (obs.) "square", kwéb "squab (i.e. to tread, of fowls)" and kwis "squeeze".

II.1.1.3a Medial and final assimilation or loss involve the plosives /p/ and /t/ or /d/: /pd/ : /b/ in krebišín "crêpe de Chine", /ps/ : /p/ in iklíp "eclipse", /sp/ : /s/ in waswás "wasp", saparíla "sarsaparilla (i.e. [sæspə'rile]), /ft/ : /t/ in rónáta "run after", /kt/ : /t/ in pétikul "spectacles", titató-titátú "tic-tac-toe", /td/ : /d/ in sidóm "sit down", /tl/ : /l/ in líli "little", /sty/ : /š/ in kwéšon "question", /st/ : /s/ in éside "yesterday", kónsibul "constable", mása (obs.) "master", /n(t)s/ : /ntš/ in antš "ants", fentš "fence", /nz/ : /ntš/ in bintš "beans", /df/ : /f/ in brefút "breadfruit", /dl/ : /l/ in skidál "skedaddle", /nd/ : /n/ in fən "find", grayn "grind", /nd/ : /ŋ/ in sán-witš "sandwich". Other examples include /ɹyd/ : /ay/ in say "side", kabáy "carbide", /ɹyz/ : /ay/ in kapsáy-kyapsáy "cap-size", /iyd/ : /i/ in santapí "centipede", /lr/ : /r/ in órayt

"all right", and /kθ/: /k/ in lenk "length", trɛŋk "strength".

II.1.1.3b Loss of /l/

A further simplification involves loss of /l/ from several items, usually in the environment of a plosive or fricative consonant. This sound is unstable in all of the English-derived creoles in the Atlantic area ⁽¹⁾. Examples are dóbyu "double-U", ɛp "help", fɪm "film", fɔdóm "fall down", kabúdu "caboodle", kaklét "calculate", krió "creole", sɛf "self", sódža~sódži~sódžis "soldier", trɔkí "tortoise (via JC torkl "turtle")", twɛf (K2) "twelve" and wuf (K2) "wolf".

II.1.1.3c Behaviour of syllabic /l/

English final syllabic /l/ has two reflexes in Krio, viz. /-ɛl/ and /-ul/. The former appears to be a retention of an earlier English pronunciation; orthographically each source-form is spelled with a final -el: bárel "barrel", dizél "diesel", éndžɛl "angel", fónɛl "funnel", lébɛl "label",

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- 1) Gullah, for example, also loses /l/ in several items, while CP, JC, Sr, etc. tend to incorporate an intrusive vowel to separate clusters containing this phoneme, e.g. CP séleɪf "self", JC fílim "film", etc.

lébel "level", táwel "towel", džúwel "jewel", tónel "tunnel", etc. The latter appears to be the reflex of true syllabic /l/ in English: ándul "handle", ébul "able", gyámbul "gamble", rámpul "rumple", etc.

II.1.1.3d Loss of /r/

Equally unstable has been the historical development of the Krio phoneme /r/, which has become lost in post-plosive position in some items: bigéd "brigade", biskít "brisket (d.)", gegrí~gregrí "Gregory", kušé~krušé "crochet", posikyút "procure", etc. This phoneme is also intrusive in several items (see II.1.1.4b).

II.1.1.3e Loss of /y/

Probably reflecting regional English pronunciations (such as in parts of northern Ireland), the loss of jotation in many Krio items is widespread, and appears to be a continuing process: ámbilans "ambulance", bígul "bugle", džénwari~džániwari "January", es~yes "ear (<ears)", éside "yesterday", et~yet "yet", edikét "educate", fěbiwari "February", grádiyét "graduate", káswal "casual", kódirɔy "corduroy", kɔfí "curfew", konfíšɔn "confusion", minísipal "municipal",

móniment "monument", pokipáyn~pok'pént "porcupine", ridikul "ridicule", samwél~samiyé "Samuel", stíwəd "steward", vákəm "vacuum", wílems "Williams", etc. Its presence in gyet "gate" and lyuk "Luke" are probably dialect retentions.

II.1.1.3f Absence of nasalization

Historically the distribution of nasalization in Krio is erratic; there are several examples of this feature lacking in Krio where it occurs in the source-form, and vice-versa (see especially III.1.2.2). Intrusive nasalization has been discussed below at II.1.1.4a ⁽¹⁾. Examples include adžóyni "ajoining (dwellings)", arángóta "orang-utan", babú "baboon", kamarú "Cameroons", kəntapí "counterpane", kwiní "quinine", madínka "Mandinka", sámos~sáməns~sóməns "summons", tapól "tar-

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- 1) Examples of this in other creoles include Sranan fási "fashion", úma "woman", Gullah ópi "open", úme "woman" (cf. Sr), Mauritian CrFr simé "chemin", dimé "demain", avwayé "envoyer", Porto Rico Sp korasó "corazon", Guy kompé, CP kómbi (cf. Kr kómpin) "friend". Temne has -sámós "summons", a-yaŋkíta "handkerchief (via Kr enkin-tša), and Mende bóoti "button", glamafó "gramophone", kómbi "friend (via Kr kómpin)" and gádi "garden".

paulin", tšendží "exchange (≠changing)", wesíndži "West Indian".

II.1.1.3g Behaviour of syllabic /n/

Like /l/ (II.1.1.3c above), syllabic /n/ also has two reflexes in Krio, viz. /-in/ and /-on/. The former reflects the common English pronunciation of the 17th century (see II.1.3.0), and continues to be the normal reflex for newly-acquired items with syllabic final /n/ in the source-form. The variant /-on/ only occurs in anglicized vocabulary, e.g. telivíšon "television". Examples of the regular reflex /-in/ include ápin "happen", békin "bacon", bóstin "Boston", džónsin "Johnson", fášin "fasten", óvin "oven", wélíntin "Wellington Village", etc.

II.1.1.4 Intrusives and parasitics

Under influence from West African languages, many of whose phonological systems admitted only of open final syllables, many English-derived items also acquired this feature where the source-forms had final consonants. This process appears to have been carried to its greatest extent in Sranan, in which language every word ends either in a vowel

or a nasal. While this feature was more widespread in Krio even during the 19th century (see VI.5.0.0), few items have preserved a parasitic final vowel, and no new acquisitions carry this feature. K2 speakers, especially Mende, tend to add a final vowel to Krio words ending in a consonant, a practice considered typical of non-Creole usage. This latter fact may be one reason for the obsolescence of this phonological characteristic. The acquired vowel is usually the same as the historical vowel: aráta "rat", déde "dead", máta "mat", ráfta "raft", šífta "sift", yerí "hear", etc.

II.1.1.4a The most widespread intrusive feature is nasalization (cf. II.1.1.3f above, and III.1.2.2), a process common amongst the creoles ⁽¹⁾ as well as with examples in English

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- 1) Examples are from Sranan kúnsu "cushion", nyúnsu "news", Gullah cálimbe "calibre", scálemwag "scallywag", JC áys-nin "icing", blánsam "blossom", malánta(n) "mulatto", Trinidad kótnin "courting", Antilles CrFr déžnê "déjeuner", fémê "fermer", Porto Rico Sp ringó "rigor", Java Cr Ptg pentje "pitje (seed)", Papiamentu maynši "maiz", Temne has a-flênk "flag", a-konkúmba "cucumber (via Kr

(e.g. messenger, passenger < Fr messenger, passager, or non-standard Eng "skellington" for skeleton). The following have been noted for Krio: bangaté "pinball (<bagatelle)", botinfláy "butterfly", donglín "dungarees", enkíntša "head-scarf (<hankercher)", kósmént-kóstamént "customer", ménšɔ "measure", meríwakambót "bindweed (<Mary-walk-about)", milindžú "mildew", míndul (obs.) "middle", níndul (obs.) "needle", ombránda "umbrella", pénsul "pestle", pindžáma "pyjamas", romantízin "rheumatism", sanamabítš "son of a bitch" and taftín "red fabric (<Scots taffety "taffeta")" (1).

kokúmba)", ε-konkókasáda "coco-cassava (via Kr kokó-kasáda)", kə-lonkosínks "lozenge (via Kr losíndžis)", u-mulánth "mulatto (cf. JC malánta)". No examples have been located in Mende.

- 1) Non-English-derived examples with intrusive nasalization include flint~flintámbo "fritámbo (i.e. duiker, see III. 4.4.4)", patmádžin~patméndži "sweet basil (<?)", sam-patá "sandal (<Ptg sapata, see V.0.4.7)", tambulé~tapalé "hypocritical (<Wolof tapalé, ditto)" and tambulé~tabulé "drum type (see V.0.4.7)".

II.1.1.4b Other intrusives are the dental/alveolar /l/, /t/ and /d/; that /r/ also belongs to this series suggests that at the time when these modifications were taking place Krio /r/ was alveolar rather than velar; this is borne out by the behaviour of this phoneme in other environments, e.g. its alternation with /l/, /n/, /d/ (see II.2.1.1.1). Its present velar value has been discussed above (I.4.1.2 and II.1.1.1). Examples are for /l/, ratlán "rattan cane" and rawl "row, fuss", for /d/ láyndin "lining", for /t/ bókstin-de "Boxing Day (December 26th)" and vekstéšon "vexation", and for /r/ aligréta~aligéta "alligator", bambrús "to manhandle (<Yorks bambooze)", krikrít "cricket, grasshopper", kókrul "cockle", krøkrødáyl~krøkrødáyl "crocodile", politrík "politics" and kin-prempré "grand person (<King Prempeh of the Gold Coast)". An intrusive /b/ has been noted in fámbul "family" (1).

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- 1) Cf. also kómrá "nursing mother (<Te u-kómrâ, ditto)", and Papia Kristang kambráng "prawn (<Ptg camarão, ditto), kambrádu "friend (<Ptg camerado, ditto), kándri "meat (<Ptg carne, ditto). Also non-standard English "chimbly" for "chimney", and even "fambly" for "family".

II.1.1.4c It is possible that some parasitics and intrusives are not the result of regular phonological process but have instead a semantic origin. Thus šifta "to sift" may be a form-class change from šifta "a sieve (<sifter)". Final -a in such items as bútša "butcher", tšítša "teacher" etc. is historically the English agentive morpheme "-er" (see VI.2.1.1-2), and these forms may have influenced e.g. ráfta "raft", bólta "bolt", etc.⁽¹⁾. Similarly pénsul for "pestle" may be folk-etymologization towards Kr pénsul "pencil"⁽²⁾, krókródáyl towards krókró "crawcraw" because the roughness of that reptile's skin suggests the disease, and politrík "politics" an intentional pun on the verbose, parrot-like behaviour (Kr polí trik) of some politicians.

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- 1) Although there is some evidence that parasitic vowels occurred in some English dialects (see II.1.4.0).
 - 2) The two are distinguished by using the compound forms mata-pénsul (possibly a calque, cf. Guiné Cr Ptg poo de pilón) and let-pénsul "lead pencil" respectively.

II.1.1.5 Shift of articulation and metathesis

Shift of articulation of /p/, /t/ and /k/ occurs in the following items: /p/ > /k/ in sektémba "September", /t/ > /k/ in fiks "seizure, fit (<fits)", panks "pants", propáks "blanco (<the brand-name 'Properts')", and risk "wrist", and /k/ > /t/ in lints "(cuff-)links". Metathesis of /s/ + /k/ or /p/ has been noted in aks "ask", daks "desk", liks "the family name Lisk", riks "risk" and krips "crisp". Post-vocalic /r/ has undergone metathesis in ras "arse" and trókí "tortoise" (<"turtle" via JC torkl) (1)".

II.1.1.6 Phonological contraction (2)

A number of items in Krio have two syllables where the English source-form has three. This appears to be due to interference from Temne structure, where no indigenous root morphemes have more than two syllables, and polysyllabic adoptions are frequently shortened by syllable-loss. Items lis-

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- 1) Non-English-derived examples include koboko "type of whip" (<SY kokobo, ditto) and kabalá(-pépe) "pepper sp. (<Calabar pepper)". Both kokobo and kalabá also occur in Krio.
 - 2) Loss of initial unaccented syllables (e.g. did "indeed") is discussed infra at II.1.3.5b.

ted in this category are shortened mainly by the loss of an internal syllable: fáktri "factory", flanét~flanénét "flannelette", góvment "government", kaklét "calculate", kosmént~kostamént "customer", maklét "vaccinate (≪maculate)", sektrí "secretary", sínri "scenery" and víkul "vehicle". Examples showing loss of a final syllable include supín "subpoena" and tapól "tarpaulin".

II.1.1.7 A number of items have undergone reduction by abbreviation, only the first one or two syllables remaining. These are probably introduced into Krio by educated Creoles fluent in English, although their full forms are seldom used or even known, especially by K2 speakers. Examples are ankó "accomplice (≪and company)", aristó "aristocrat(ic)", bínto "(one who has) been to (Britain or America)", džuví "young girl (≪juvenile)", ekspí "experience", galvá "galvanized iron roofing", intakoló "a gossip" (≪intercollocation), konfí "comfortable", kopá "paunch (≪corporation)", laybí "a Liberian", obí~ozbí "husband", pasó "personality", preg "make pregnant", sivilí "civilian clothing", sob "drink liquor (≪absorb?)", spidó "speedometer" and waywó "carefree person (≪

why worry)". Probably related to this process, but yielding intentionally slang forms, is the replacement of the final vowel in some items with /s/, even for non-English-derived words: adžiríks "West Indian (<Kr adžireké <SY)", bobs "term of address (<Kr bobó, ditto)", duls "buttocks (<Kr dulí <Su) and timošénks "locally-distilled gin (<Kr timoš-énko, see II.1.7.1). The derivative brabs "term of address (<Kr bra, ditto)" may also be listed here.

II.1.1.8 The process of contraction has been carried even further in a large number of words consisting of the initials of longer words or phrases. These are often coined in fun (cf. étšdžidží), although several have passed into the local indigenous languages as the only term for the concept they represent. All reflect English orthography, even the Yoruba-derived example (osiyó): bibí "print pattern formed from the letter B", biyemtí "tardiness (<B.M.T., 'Black Man's Time')", disí "D.C., District Commissioner", džedžesí "newcomer (J.J.C. 'Johnny Just Come')", džisi "gonorrhea (<G.C., GynoCoccus)", džiyenotú "gonorrhea (GN02 - serum number?)", edití "A.D.T., any damned thing", epí "A.P., appoint-

ment", étšdžidží "liar (≡ H.G.G. 'Honourable gati-Giver' [gati = "lie" (≡ ?)])", elél "print pattern formed from the letter L", emsí "M.C., Master of Ceremonies", ené "N.A., Native Authority", keké "print pattern formed from the letter K", osiyó "impotent man (≡ OCObo, i.e. SY okobó, ditto, alongside Kr okobó)", pisí "P.C. Provincial Commissioner", písí "P.C., Police Constable", sibí "indigenous Sierra Leonean (≡ C.B., 'Country Body')", siyemés-semés "C.M.S., Church Missionary Society", vidží "V.G., VirGin" and viyaypí "V.I.P., Very Important Person" (1).

II.1.2.0 Derivation of Krio stress-distribution

Krio tone and stress-distribution has been briefly described above (I.4.4.1) and at VI.0.3.1. This does not immediately appear to be inherited from English, in which lang-

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- 1) An ingenious initial-word incorporating vowel slang is also worth noting; in vowel slang each of the five orthographic vowels is given a number (A-1, E-2, etc.), so that pifówayfó stands for poyó, itself a taxi-driver's slang term for a useless or ineffectual person, i.e. P4Y4.

uage it differs considerably. Final stress on polysyllabic items carrying initial or medial stress in the English source-forms is common in Krio ⁽¹⁾, and may well be due to influence from coastal Manding dialects (see IV.3.2.4); however, examples of Chaucerian English stress such as "brim-stoón", "cartwheél" or "greyhoúnd" are reminiscent of Krio and suggest that such stress-placement may have survived into the following centuries in the dialects ⁽²⁾. North American varieties of modern English often carry word-final stress where British English does not, cf. American [pə'kæn], [ge'rædʒ] "pecan", "garage" and British ['piykən], ['gæridʒ].

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- 1) And other Atlantic creoles — e.g. for Gullah see Whaley (1925), p. 162, for Jamaican Creole see Cassidy and Le Page (1960), p. 120, and for Guyana Creole D. Bickerton, Guyanese speech, Georgetown (1971), pp. 28-36.
 - 2) Examples taken from M. Halle and S.J. Keyser, "Chaucer and the study of prosody", College English (December, 1966), pp. 187-219. Professor G.L. Brook of Birmingham University, author of English Dialects, London (1963), knows of no modern British dialects with this feature (personal communication).

II.1.3.0 Sources of vocabulary: Nautical

"The sailors of the 17th century were notorious for the strangeness of their speech...they had a dialect and manner peculiar to themselves (1)".

II.1.3.1 Although this seamen's speech was unique amongst British dialects in its eclectic lexical content and grammatical patterns, its phonology may be assumed to have been fairly representative of the composite variety of English from which Krio is derived (2). The phonology of sailors' pronunciation of English between 1650 and 1783 has been studied in some detail by W. Matthews, who based his findings upon an examination of some 190 log-books from the period, in which ships' clerks, who were generally untutored, often spelled their entries according to their own pronunciation.

1) Matthews (1935), p. 192

2) This is apart from the specialized shipboard jargon: "For sailors, whatever their early dialect and education, there must have been certain conventions of pronunciation for words used exclusively in the sea trade, the names of the personnel, and parts of the ship, the directions, and winds; and probably for foreign place-names" (op. cit. p. 193).

II.1.3.2 It would be presumptuous to claim that all modern Krio forms, where they differ from modern English (RP; see II.1.1.0), could be traced to the English of this period, but it is clear that in fact a great many can be thus derived. Matthews worked only from legitimate naval records, those ships engaged in smuggling and slaving illegally seldom maintaining adequate logs.

II.1.3.3. It is known that such buccaneering communities, whether on land or at sea, were often composed of Africans — perhaps renegade slaves — Mulattoes and Europeans, not all of whom were always English-speaking ⁽¹⁾. During the 1600's the regional dialects of English itself were far less interintelligible than they are today, especially those not geographically contiguous; and amongst the English, Scots

1) To give an example from a later period, the crew of Admiral Nelson's H.M.S. Victory at Trafalgar consisted of fourteen different nationalities (information from a talk on BBC Radio in October, 1969).

Welsh and Irish complement one can conceive of a composite "common denominator" dialect, probably highly attenuated, establishing itself and becoming increasingly widespread as recruits became more seasoned. It is quite likely that such a nautical idiom was further modified by incorporating non-English words and constructions to a greater or lesser degree (see I.2.4.5-7, *supra*). By nature of their renegade profession, these pirates kept themselves well isolated from civilization and the law; in such isolation their composite vernacular would have been doubly reinforced. This has been well-illustrated, albeit fictionally, by B. Traven in his novel The death ship (1):

"With so many different nationalities aboard it would have been impossible to sail the Yorikke unless a language had been found that was understood by the whole crew. The lingo of the Yorikke was English. At least that was the name the language was given, to distinguish it from other languages, known under the moon. Chinese Pidgin English would be considered elegant compared with the

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- 1) Published by Knopf, New York (1934) and quoted in J. Reinecke, "Trade jargons and creole dialects as marginal languages", Social forces, XVII.107-118 (1938) on pp. 107-108.

Yorikkian English. A newcomer, even a limey, a cockney or a Pat, would have quite a lot of trouble during the first two weeks before he could pick up sufficient Yorikkian to make himself understood and to understand what was told him (1)".

II.1.3.4 While the speech of modern seamen still exhibits many characteristic features identifying it as their own, it can no longer be regarded as a dialect too distantly remote from present-day standard English. This has been the result of a continuing process of approximation towards the latter; in Matthews' paper on the pronunciation of English by seamen between 1770 and 1783 (2), he contrasts the phonology of that period with that of the previous century, described in his earlier paper (3):

"Although a fair number of the old variant pronunciations still existed in the speech of

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- 1) An example of this may be quoted from Hotten (1864) p. 200, under the entry PICKANINNY: "A young child is thus styled by the West Indian negroes. The word is now completely naturalised among sailors and waterside people in England".
 - 2) Matthews (1937), p. 79.
 - 3) Matthews (1935).

the officers of the Navy, they seem to have been less firmly established. It is highly probable that many other variants were actually pronounced although they find no reflex in the spelling of the logs. But the general impression given by these later documents is that the speech of the upper ranks of the Navy, masters and captains, was much closer to the contemporary standard pronunciation than was the speech of their predecessors. The improved status of the officer of the 18th century, probably largely explains the difference...We may be justified, therefore, in concluding that superior education among the officers of the Navy had been successful in ousting many of the older pronunciations, and in weakening others".

Although this says nothing of the speech of the ordinary seamen, who were less concerned with speaking "correctly", they too were undoubtedly subject to this trend of approximating more and more to the contemporary standard, albeit less rapidly. But it would appear that such lexical items and pronunciations in modern Krio are traceable to the nautical idiom of the earlier (17th century) period than to the later. On the other hand, European-African enclaves on the Guinea Coast (I.2.4.3 supra) saw influence from the surrounding African languages slowing down this process, and causing the English spoken there to diverge structurally, phonetically and lexically not only from the contemporary stan-

dard, but also from the nautical *lingue franche* from which it was derived.

II.1.3.5 Phonological parallels between Krio and 17th century nautical English.

At II.1.1.0 above, phonological correspondences between modern Krio and modern English (RP) were listed. Tabulated below are examples (from Matthews) of 17th century English orthographic forms ⁽¹⁾ reflecting the pronunciations of the sailors of that period. Each is followed by the assumed phonetic value in IPA symbols (also from Matthews), and examples from Krio with the same reflex:

II.1.3.5a Consonant phonemes

Non-pronunciation of [p] (in N+p+C) in "emty", "pumkin", cf.

Kr émti, pəŋkín.

Intrusive [b] in "Limbrick", "Rumbley" ("Limerick", "Romley"),

cf. Kr fámbul "family" (and see II.1.1.4bn.).

1) All orthographic forms quoted from Matthews are underlined and in double quotes.

[b] for [v] in "cobe", "Bebridge", "Tabby Stock" "Tavistock",

cf. Kr ib "heave", nébul "navel", ríbit "rivet", etc.

Loss of medial [t] in "bosen", "yesterday", "defecks", cf.

Kr bózin, éside, etc.

Loss of final [t] in "nex", "las", "kep", "conduck", cf. Kr

neks, las, etc.

Acquisition of [t] in "chast" "chase", "cleft" "cliff",

"squadrent", "suddenly", cf. Kr bókstin-de "Boxing Day",
vekstéšon "vexation", lístin "listen", etc.

[t] for [θ] in "fift" "fifth", "monts" "months", "tretned",

"trong", "Turse Day", cf. Kr mønt, trøn, tósde, etc.

Loss of medial [d] in "pouns", "hans", "holls", cf. Kr pøn

"pound", an "hand", ol "hold", etc.

Loss of final [d] in "thowssen", "win", "roune", "grahoun",

"hole", "hell", cf. Kr táwzin "thousand", røn "round",

ol "hold", kabáy "carbide", etc.

[d] for [ð] in "ffadam", "weder", "further", cf. Kr fádam "fa-

thom", wéda "weather", etc.

Acquisition of [d] in "remaining", "gallands", cf. Kr láy-

din "lining".

Loss of [f] in "hankechers", cf. Kr enkıntša.

[f] for [θ] in "eareife" "Erith", cf. Kr arífmítik "arithmetic", baf "bath", etc.

Loss of [θ] in "lengs" "lenth", "close" "clothes", "Soussey"
cf. Kr lenk "length", klos "clothes", trɛnk "strength".

[s] for [š] in "sowers", "fres", "Spanis", "ingles", cf. Kr
fres (obs.)~frɛš "fresh", ínglis (obs.)~íngliš "English",
ásis "ashes", etc.

[š] for [s] in "occashoned", "peruishen" "provision", "diue-
shon" "division", "meshuarde", "pleshur", cf. Kr ménšo,
pléšo, etc.

Loss of [h] in "Obson", "is" "his", "er" "her", "ospotall",
cf. Kr óbsin, ospítul, etc.

[m] for [n] in "rosam" "rosin", "a Starm" "astern", cf. Kr
balúm "balloon", katúm~katún "carton".

[n] for [ŋ] in "beloning", "lonboat", "borlinton", "stockins",
cf. Kr blant "belong to", tin "thing", fíšin "fishing".

Loss of medial [n] in "liting", "lighting", "eving", "efinge",
cf. Kr láytin "lightning", ívin "evening", krísín
"christening".

[ŋ] for [n] in "punchings" "puncheons", "Dubling", "linning",
"cabbings", "evings", cf. Kr dəŋ "down", liŋ "lean", etc.

Loss of [l] in "foughty" "falty", "ffawcon", "sogers", "ffa-
mouth", cf. Kr sódža "soldier", ways "whilst" (II.1.1.3b).

Loss of [r] in "chuch", "ffost", "oders", "Mashall", "coses",
"woth", "beathday", "Febuary", cf. Kr tšotš "church",
fəs "first", ɔda "order", etc.

Acquisition of initial [w] in "wokem" "oakum ⁽¹⁾", "wonder"
"under", cf. Kr wol "old".

[w] for [v] in "wery", "wearing", cf. Kr "werry" (obs.)
"very" (C), wər "veer".

Loss of initial [y] in "esterday, isterday", cf. Kr éside
"yesterday", es~yes "ear(s)", et~yet "yet".

II.1.3.5b Vowel phonemes

[i] for [e] in "ginrel", cf. Kr džínral "general", džirál
"Gerald", indžin "engine", etc.

[iə] for [ɛə] in "thir" "there", "veereable" "variable",
 cf. Kr bíya "bear", íya "hair", tšíya "chair", etc.

[indž] for "-ange" in "oringe, oring", cf. Kr orintš "orange".

1) Temne has -wókem "oakum" (Kr kək, "caulk, caulking").

[in] for "-en" in "euing" "even", "dusin" "dozen", cf. Kr ívin, dózin, and "-on" in "Bostin", "risin", "reckinge", "gamin", cf. Kr bóstin "Boston", rízin "reason", etc., see II.1.1.3g.

[iz] for "-es" in "melassis", "chisis" "cheeses", cf. Kr lósis "losses", písis "pieces".

[ey] for [Ay] in "weight" "white", "laight" "light", "tray" "try", cf. Kr wet "white", klem "climb", wep "wipe".

[ɛ] for [ʌ] in "A Nether" "another", cf. Kr set "shut", ténda "thunder".

[ɛ:] for [iy] in "wear" "veer", "lauing" "leaving", etc., cf. Kr wer "veer", yerí "hear".

[ɛ] for [ey] in "gells" "gales", "teck" "take", "nemes" "names", "cem" "came", cf. Kr nem "name", mek "make".

[æ] for [ɔ] in "drap", "shatt", cf. Kr drap "drop", šat "shot", etc.

[a:] for [ɔ:] in "saa" "saw", "waer" "war", "Straa" "straw", cf. Kr wa "war", dra-drúwa "drawer", ak-akák "hawk", wáka "walk", wáta "water", wam "warm", etc.

[ʌ] for [ʌu] in "gunpuder", "grund", "dun", cf. Kr gompóda,

gron, don.

[Ay] for [ɔy] in "pint" "point", "rial" "royal", cf. Kr

grayn "groin", pamáy "palm-oil".

[ə] for "-or", in "anker, ankar" "anchor", "gouener" "governor", cf. Kr ánka, góna, dókta.

[ən] for "-ain" in "capen" "captain", "bosin" "boatswain", "palantins" "plantains", "unsertin", cf. Kr kyápin, bózin, plantín, sátin, and see [in] above.

Loss of initial unaccented [ə] in "monkst" "amongst", "low-ance" "allowance", cf. Kr bət "about", gri "agree", byus "abuse"; also mémba "remember", spékta "inspector".

Loss of medial [ə] in "compney" "company", "creening" "carreening", cf. Kr fáktri "factory", sínri "scenery", etc.

[a(r)] for [ə(r)] in "jarzey", "Garnsey", "sarviss", "machant", cf. Kr džázi, gánsi-gánsi "sweater type", sávis-sábis, etc.

"Orthographic '-er', '-ar' may represent [ə] but apparently they represent a vowel more like [a]", in "wattar", "doktar", "soulgars", "westarne", "ansarable", cf. Kr dókta, watá, sódža, ánsa, etc.

[ɔ:] for [ou] in "rawbuck" "roebuck", "morst" "most", "hauld" "hold", "clors" "close", cf. Kr fotó "photo", motó "motor" (the reverse reflex, i.e. [o] for [ɔ], is more frequent in Krio: mol "maul", po "poor", etc. but no examples of this have been located in Matthews. This reflex is also found in some Caribbean creoles, Gullah and some varieties of Black American English).

[ɛy] for [ɔy] in "heysted" "hoisted", cf. Kr es "hoist".

II.1.3.5c Phonological parallels from the later period discussed by Matthews (1770-1783) ⁽¹⁾ include the following:

Loss of [r] in "moad" "moored", "govners", "fathen" "far-thing", cf. Kr mo "moor", góvna, fádin.

Acquisition of labial glide in "bwoy" "buoy", cf. Kr búwi, bwel "boil", pwel "spoil".

[ɛy] for [ʌy] in "dray" "dry", "flaying" "flying", "suplay" "supply", "laight" "light", cf. [ɛy] above.

[a:] for [ə:] in "hard" "heard", "desarter", "marimaid", cf.

1) (1937).

[a(r)] above.

[ɔ] for [ʌ] in "cotter" "cutter", "corrent" "current",

"doblin" "Dublin", "smoggling" "smuggling", "scrobing"

"scrubbing"; the regular reflex in Krio, cf. brɔs

"brush", kɔt "cut", kórent "current", krɔb "scrub" etc.

II.1.3.5d Other phonological reflexes

Shift of articulation of alveolar to velar stop has been discussed above (II.1.1.5), and has been recorded by Matthews in "sleeke" "sleet" and "biskakes" "biscuits".

Devoicing of voiced consonants has been recorded for "rifer" "river", "capeles" "cables", "turty" "dirty", "alife" "alive", "sefrol" "several" and "frecut" "frigate", cf. Kr muf "move", dayf "dive", džékop "Jacob", let-pénsul "lead-pencil", tšúpit "stupid".

II.1.3.6 Nautical lexicon in Krio

Each of the following items appears to have its origin in some variety of nautical English; while all are in common use, several have undergone extension or shift of meaning (see II.1.7.0 infra), e.g. Kr gyáli (<"galley") for "kitchen". Most of these items have phonological forms in-

dicative of early (i.e. pre-1800) adoption into the language.

akróyal

A prostitute.

Cf. "Ark Royal", the name of a vessel, although the connection is unclear.

ánka

Anchor.

bakánti

A soccer tactic.

Cf. Bacchante, the name of a ship the crew of which during WWII gained some reputation as soccer players in Freetown.

bambót

A prostitute, usually in the combinations bambot-gyál or bambot-úman.

Cf. "bumboat"; women waited for these to bring sailors to the quayside from the ship.

bel

To bail, scoop, as in bél di dotí, "scoop up the earth".

Cf. "bail".

búwi

Buoy.

bigón

A person of importance.

Cf. "big gun", referring to the guns on the destroyers in Free-town harbour during the Wars.

bosin-pép }
bozin-pép }

Originally only a boatswain's pipe, but now refers to a police whistle.

Cf. "boatswain's pipe".

bonk

To sleep; a bed.

Cf. "bunk".

drif

To drift, edge towards, be carried along: watá de dríf am gó "the water is carrying him away".

Cf. "drift".

džeb

To smuggle, keep out of sight; to duck back out of sight.

Cf. "gybe", archaic, nautical

(OED) meaning "to smuggle".

džog

To nudge, snatch away from.

Cf. "jog", nautical (OED) "to snatch", etymology unknown.

es

To lift.

Cf. "heis", "raise, lift",
nautical (OED).

flag

To beat; "flog" would be wip.

Cf. "flog", also in the Kr sense
in Pitcairnese, CCP, Tristan da
Cunha English, etc.

flap

Flies on a pair of pants.

Cf. "flap", "the fall or front
to an old-fashioned pair of
trousers" (EDD) such as are worn
by seamen.

gaf

To withhold something (specially from
children): a go gáf yu, "I won't give
you any".

?Cf. "gaff", a nautical instru-
ment for holding away as well as
drawing towards.

gánzi }
gásí }

A thick sweater worn by seamen.

Cf. "Guernsey", ditto.

gonflít

Gun fleet, used in the simile yu tít kák lek' gonflít, "your teeth stick out like the gun fleet".

grog

Liquor, rum.

grog-šáp

A bar.

Cf. "grog shop".

ib

Push, heave, throw with force.

Cf. "heave", "only nautical and colloquial" (SOED).

ibták

To engage a woman in flirtatious talk.

Probably from ib (supra) + "tack"

"line to make fast a vessel", although the latter does not appear to have survived in Kr as an independent morpheme.

ibóp

To leave, get up and go.

Cf. "heave up", nautical, ditto, referring to pulling anchor.

kilík

See IV.3.4.5

kliyaráwt

Go away, esp. as an exhortation.

Cf. "clear out", first recorded in Eng as nautical (OED).

kotlás }
kotlásš }

Machete.

Cf. "cutlass".

kraŋk

A woman with broad hips and a rolling gait (considered slang).

?Cf. "crank", nautical, "unbalanced, liable to capsize, unsteady" (EDD).

kunú

Canoe.

Cf. "canoe", with probable convergence from Mdg kunú "boat".

kyábin

(ship's) cabin.

kyápin

(ship's) captain.

kyastóf

To go, leave (cf. ibóp, supra).

Cf. "cast off".

kyatnáyntel }
kyatnáynten }

Cat o' nine tails, a whip.

final /l/~n/ remains unexplained,

but see II.1.1.3f.

manawá

Destroyer.

Cf. "man o' war", ditto.

manawá-biskít

Hard-tack.

Cf. "man o' war biscuit", probably an indigenous coinage.

manawá-kód

Ship's cable in its primary meaning, now referring to French knitting.

Cf. "man o' war cord", probably an indigenous coining.

manawá-pikín

Illegitimate child, originally fathered by European seamen on shore leave.

Cf. manawá + pikín (II.2.4.4).

mo

To moor in its primary sense, now more frequently used to mean "keep", "stay", "fasten": dě mó yú dé? "have they fixed you there (i.e. is that why you're not coming?), a wét am soté a mó "I waited for him so long, I took root". Also in the Freetown place name Mówaf "Moor Wharf", which has lent itself to a soc-

iety and its masquerader.

pakét

Besides 'packet', this item occurs in the phrase bay pakét, indicating excess, e.g. múnkú "a fool", múnkú bay pakét "an excessive fool". The nautical origin is suggested by a similar expression in Mauritius Cr Fr "en paquet", also indicative of excess and apparently deriving from Fr paquet, "steam packet".

páylot

A pimp, procuror.

Cf. nautical "pilot", the one who guides (a ship), extended to mean one who guides to prostitutes. An identical item (páylot, páylat) occurs in Malacca Cr Ptg and Barbadian English.

rog

A cheat; to cheat, swindle.

Cf. "rogue", nautical, etymology unknown (NED). Also Yks dialect "to swindle" (EDD).

skwif

A squid.

?Cf. "squiff", "a small boat"

(DAP), with which term the Kr

meaning may have been confused.

slam

To berth, dock, moor, also in the

expression šíp slám! (or šíp kám!),

said to an acquaintance wearing or

sporting something new — a survival

from the days when all goods arrived

by sea in Freetown.

Cf. "slam" "to strike against

anything with violence and re-

sounding noise" (SOED), though

not specifically nautical.

swába

A term of abuse.

Cf. "swabber", nautical, "one

whose job it is to swab the

decks, etc.", also a term of

abuse at sea.

tagrín

The Creole name of the settlement called Ro-Kupr in Temne, some 12 miles from Freetown on the coast.

Cf. "Tagreen", "marine stores", (EDD). "A "tagreen man" has a floating shop which he rows about the tiers of ships, announcing his presence by a bell" (Yorks, Cumb. dialects).

toróp

Procuror's fee (see páylot, supra), as well as primary "tow rope".

tšipí

Ship's carpenter; any carpenter.

Cf. "chippie", naval slang for the ship's carpenter.

tšokóp

Packed full, chock full.

Possibly connected with JC

tšak (in the expression tšák an

bilíe < "chock and belay") with

the meaning "perfectly full, fully provided" (DJE)).

wer

To veer, scrape through, barely
touch.

Cf. "wear" "veer, used of a
vessel" (EDD).

II.1.3.6a A survival from the 19th century exists in the
maxim yu kin tók to di blú-džakét, bot nóto to di marún dē,
"you can speak to the Blue Jackets (i.e. British sailors)
but not to the Maroons", which reflects the antipathy which
existed between Creoles of Settler ancestry and those de-
scended from the Jamaican Maroons. This of course has no
application to-day.

II.1.4.0 Sources of vocabulary: items from the dialects
and items archaic in modern English

That dialect forms have been retained in modern Krio is understandable, when one considers the widespread origins of many of the crew members (see II.1.0.1). Those items now obsolete in English were not, of course, archaisms at the time of their adoption into Krio, and are therefore only of interest diachronically. With such forms, there is no way of ascertaining accurately the length of time during which they remained in currency; items dropped from the written language may have been retained in speech for an extended period, especially in remote areas or by isolated speech communities such as those on board ship, or in overseas colonial settlements (1).

II.1.4.1 A similar problem is faced in attempting to locate

-
- 1) This is also true of phonological features; palatalized /ky/ and /gy/ before the front vowel /a/ survived in general English until the first half of the 18th century, but still exist as a feature of some varieties of English in Northern Ireland.

accurately the source-areas for dialect-derived items in Krio. The principal reference for these, Wright's six volume English dialect dictionary (EDD) was compiled in 1905, thus what in that year occurred as an item peculiar to, say, the dialect of western Cornwall, may well have been geographically much more extensively current in earlier centuries.

II.1.4.2 The phonology of an item often affords a clue to its provenance, which is especially valuable in verifying the source-areas of dialect-derived items. An example may be given with Krio kokúmba "cucumber". While the non-standard "cowcumber" is fairly widespread in Britain, the Krio form suggests a Midlands or Northern source such as ['kaw-kumbə] rather than Southern ['kawkʌmbə], which would have yielded Kr *kokámba or *kokómba. Similarly Kr ténda "thunder" contains the permissible reflex Eng /æ/ or /ʌ/ : Kr /ɛ/, pointing to a Southern source-form ['θʌndə] rather than more northerly ['θundə], since Eng /u/ : Kr /ɛ/ does not occur. The Kr word po "poor" reflects the regular shift of /ɔ(:)/

to /o/, and points to a Southern colloquial pronunciation [pɔ:] rather than Southern educated or Midlands/Northern [puə] (cf. Kr drúwa(~dra~drɔ) "drawer").

II.1.4.3 An indication of the geographical provenance of many of the Krio items of English dialect origin may be obtained from an analysis of Wright's 1905 material (fig. 4); while these can only be shown with certainty to indicate the situation ca. 1900, a phonological examination of the same items according to the techniques described in II.1.4.2 above yields a surprisingly similar picture (fig. 5). It is clear that most of the non-standard English items in Krio come from three main areas: the south-western counties, long associated with Britain's naval men, Lancashire and western Yorkshire, and south-eastern and central Scotland. Ireland, not shown on the map, accounts for 4% of the non-standard vocabulary in Krio, and only 0.5% of its non-standard phonological forms. Like Wales, Ireland's contribution has been small, probably because of the presence of Celtic languages in each and the consequent less use of English.

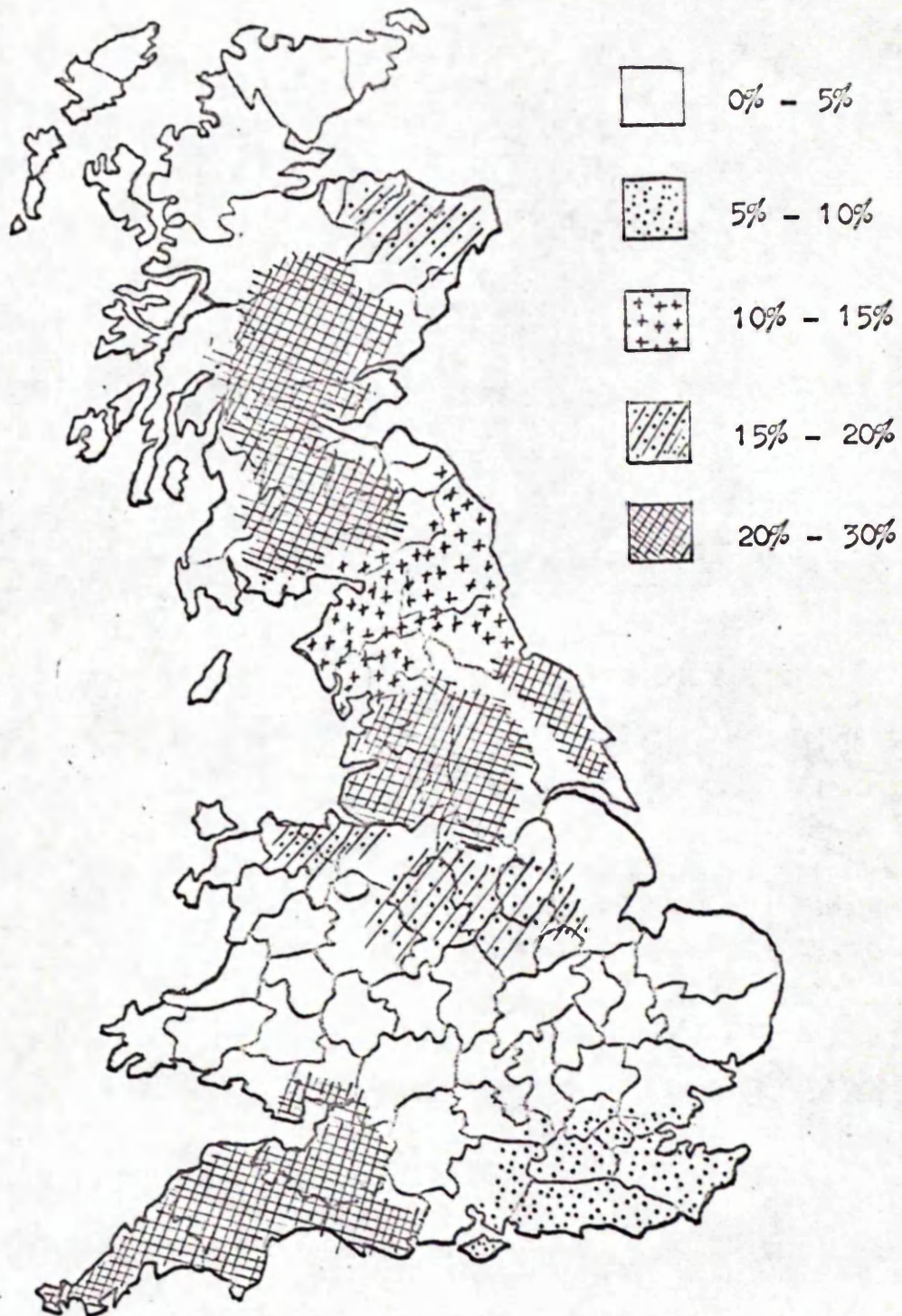


Figure 4 : Provenance of non-Standard items in Krio
(Ireland [not shown] ca. 4%).

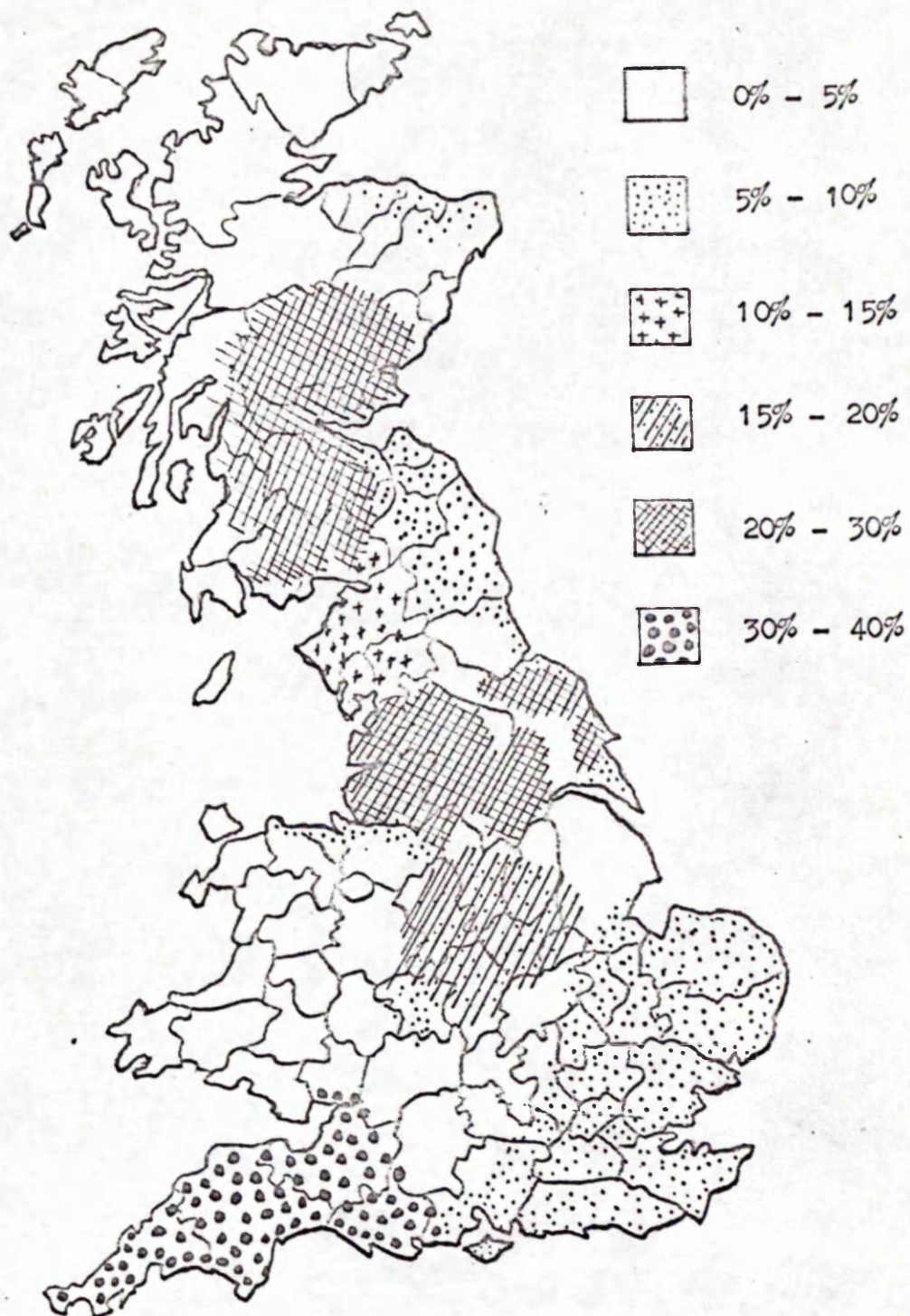


Figure 5 . Provenance of non-Standard phonological forms of Standard items in Krio (Ireland [not shown] ca. 0.5%).

II.1.4.4 Dialect-derived lexicon in Krio

- aráta A rat, mouse. Probably from Sc., N.,
or Midl. "rattan", cf. JC ráta and
see II.1.1.4 and gládi, below.
- bans Crowds of people; cf. Sc. "bang" "a
crowd, great number".
- bánsul To bounce a ball. Cf. N. and Midl.
"bansil", "beat".
- baz To stamp on someone's foot. Cf. gen.
dial "bazz", "a blow".
- bégnet Bayonet. Cf. Eng., Sc., Ire. "bagnet",
"bagonet", ditto.
- bérin Funeral. Cf. Devonshire [berin], do.
"burying".
- biskít Brisket of beef. Cf. Sc. "bisket", do.
- biyól Nevertheless. Cf. dial. "behold" "mark
you, do not overlook this point".
- blant 1) Belong to: na dé a blánt "that is
where I belong", 2) customary action
marker. Cf. dial. "belang, belangt"

"dwell, reside; be accustomed, be in the habit of": "I don't belong to going to church" (Kr a nó blánt gó tšótš), Lincs., Cor. Also Gullah and coastal North Carolina Black English.

blaynfúl

To trick, deceive. Cf. Yks. "blindfold", "jokingly mislead".

blo

To take a rest. Cf. gen. dial. "blow", do.

boráyg }
boráyd }

To manhandle someone. Cf. Kentish "bereg, berag" "to worry, harrass, annoy" (cf. Kr bayg "bag", flayg "flag", JC hayg "hag" etc.); Sc. [bə'raid] "pushed in a rough manner".

bósin

A swollen scrotum (belé-bósin = "intestinal hernia"). Cf. WMid. "bauson, baw-sin" "swollen". JC has búósan "a piece of cut yam which goes on swelling".

bobí

Breast. Cf. gen. dial. "bubby", ditto.

bok

To stub the toe; see buk, infra.

bos

To bring up to date with the news:

mék a bós yu "let me tell you the latest". Cf. Lincs., Somerset and U.S. "buzz" "gossip, whisper, tell tales".

bre

To nag. Cf. Nhmb. "bray" "cry out, abuse".

buk

To butt with the head. Cf. gen. N.

"buck" "a smart blow on the head".

dánda

Dandruff. Cf. Cornwall and N. "dander"

"dandruff, scurf".

do

Day, as in dó-klin "daybreak", áw di

dó "how's the day", probably from

dial. "dawe" "day" (DAP) or Scots

and Nhmb. "daw" "to dawn" with reg-

ular shift /ɔ:/ ≤ /o/ (see II.1.3.5b).

en

To hang. Cf. Yks. "heng". The Krio

sense of "wait, pause" (a de én fɔs

"I'll wait first") may be Worcs. "to

hang at", "take one's time at".

fála

In one sense, to make love. Cf. Dur.
and Sc. "follow" "court, woo", as
in "he followed his wife ten year
afore they were wed".

fil

Feel, be inclined: a nó fíl fo gó "I
don't feel like going". Cf. dial.
"feel to" "to feel disposed": "he
doesn't feel to walk".

fitrí

To sit in an ungainly manner with the
legs sprawled (also fedí, III.1.4.14).
Cf. Sc., Yks., Midl. "fitter" "to
kick with the feet". Yks. has the
adjectival form "fittery".

floks

Any green, unripe fruit, esp. mango.
Cf. Suff. "flocky" "overripe", but
more probably from "flux", i.e. "diar-
rhoea" (cf. JC floks, ditto, and
flóks-mángguo "green, unripe mango").

froš

To bubble, fizz, effervesce. Cf. Cor.
and Hamps. "flosh" "the act of splash-

ing, a spill of water".

galút

Big and burly; a big, burly person.

Gen. dial., esp. Cor., Ire. and U.S.

"a soldier, a man; a big, awkward creature". "...considerable uncertainty exists as to the exact meaning of this word...galoot is a southwestern [American] expression of unknown parentage; a worthless fellow, a rowdy...simply a man" (DA).

gládi

Glad, happy; gladness. Cf. Cor "gladie" "foolish". There is some evidence in the literature for paragog~~e~~: "In Cornwall, Pembr. and Devon they for to milk say milky, for to squint, to squinny, thick, thicky &c., and after most verbs ending with consonants they clap a y (l)".

1) Lhuyd's MS. Additions to Ray, Ashmolean Museum, and quoted from DAP p. xii.

gig

A toy made of empty spools, bent wire, etc., on a runner; also a hoop. Cf. Sc. "gig" "anything that is whirled round in play".

gólop

To gulp, eat greedily. Cf. gen. dial. "gollop" "swallow hastily".

gréta

To grate. Cf. Yorks and N. "grater", do.: "go an' grater some nutmeg".

džonk

A portion, to apportionate; small pig-tail left after braiding. Cf. W. and S. "junk" "a lump or piece".

džúbløks

Bulbous sp. of garden-egg. Cf. Shrops and Wales joblocks "the pendulous wattles seen in turkeys; pendulous, hanging cheeks" — on analogy of shape?

kabúdu

Crowd, set, clique, gang of friends. Cf. "caboodle", the whole caboodle", "a pleonastic expression for the whole, thought to be an enlarged

form of 'boodle', which is sometimes used in the same sense; Old English bottel "a bundle", French botel, bo-teau, German Beutel" (DA). Also Du boedel "possessions". Te has ká-batho with Kr meaning.

kánsul

Council. Cf. WYorks "caansil", ditto, Cockney ['kæənsuw], etc.

ketí

Money-pool, kitty. Probably the latter but cf. N. "katin'" "saving money".

kek

To play hookey from school or work. Cf. WYorks "keck" "to draw back from a bargain, refuse with distain": I've keck'd "I've changed my mind". In Kr one who does this is a kekwe-bát.

klodí

A fool. Cf. NYorks "cloddy" "stupid, dense". The same class-shift is noted in Kr daf "a fool" (≪daft).

kotší

Curtsey. Cf. gen. dial. "curtchey", do.

kolé

In one sense, to mimic. Cf. Scots

"colley" "anyone who follows another constantly, or with excessive admiration".

koní

Artful, sly, cunning. Cf. Yks "kon-

ny" "knowing, sagacious, shrewd",

"carney" "soft-spoken, coaxing,

sly" (STY).

kovétšos

Parsimonious, grasping. Cf. dial.

"covecheous" "covetous".

krábit

Parsimonious, grasping. Cf. Scots.

"crabbit" "peevish, crabbed", Dev.

"crappet" insufficient, skimping".

krak

Peal of thunder. Cf. gen. dial.

"crack", ditto.

krapó

Knock-kneed. Cf. Lincs. "crappely"

['krapli] "lame, decrepit" (cf. Kr

tapól "tarpaulin" for loss of fi-

nal syllable).

kres

Crazy. There are numerous examples of dial. use of "crazed" rather than "crazy", the former becoming kres in Krio.

krip

To crawl, as does a baby. "Creep" for "crawl" is widespread in U.S. dialects especially.

kroks

Jail (slang). Cf. Kent "crook" "to put away, store, hoard, save", with parasitic -s? (see II.1.1.7).

kunt

A children's food-oath; to claim by calling the name of some particular morsel in the possession of the other party, thereby taking it for oneself. Cf. Sc. "coont" "count", hence "coonty" "the one who 'counts out' players in a game".

láyndin

Lining. Cf. Sussex "linding", ditto.

les

Lazy. Cf. Isle of White "laze", "lazy", Yks. "laze" "be lazy, idle".

lobolóbo

The fatty offal from meat. Cf. N. and
W. "lob" "a lump of fat". Du and
Fries lobbe "meat fat".

masa-ós }
masta-ós }

Landlord, head of the household. Cf.
Sc. "master", landlord.

mekmék }
mekmék }

Capricious, fickle. Cf. Sc. "make" "to
meddle, interfere, act, pretend,
feign". Pitcairnese has meekmeek
with Kr meaning.

mintši

Mean. Cf. gen. dial. "mindgy", ditto.

mol

To hug roughly. Either standard "maul"
or W. "moul" "to pull or tumble about".

mol

The fontanelle. Beds., Somers. "mole"
"the suture of the skull".

montši

Deride, scoff; sarcastic remarks. Cf.

Staffs., Worcs., Warks., Somerset

"munch" "to hurt by petty cruelties,
to ill-treat".

múnin

To mourn; mourning apparel. Cf. Sc.

"mournings" "a mourning-garb".

óvin

Oven. This pronunciation, rather than

the expected *óvin, is probably Som.

"oaven", ditto. (JC also has uobm

rather than *óbm).

padí

Friend, companion. Closest likely

source in Eng is Yorks, Notts., Lincs,

Norf. "paddy", Wales "batty" "a la-

bourer's mate", "bricklayer's appren-

tice" "Dick was ma paddy for above

(EDD).

fower year" / Guy has bódi, with

Kr meaning, and cf. Eng "buddy".

papišó

An exhibitionistic display, showing

off. Cf. gen. dial. "puppy" "puppet",

and Sc., Notts. "puppy-show" "a pup-

pet show". The Kr meaning is not

recorded for English.

pas

Except, unless. Cf. Heref. "past"

"except, with the exception of".

pisté1

Noisy, flighty, irresponsible, usu. in the comb. pisté1-tití (i.e. "girl", see VI.3.1.3). Cf. Cumb., Westm., Yorks "pistol", WYorks "pistil" "a term of derision or contempt, used of anyone peculiar or eccentric in appearance, or disorderly in conduct". See this entry under II.1.8.3, folk-etymology.

poka-máta

A mat woven from the soft pith from inside cane. Cf. Ches., Norf. "poker" "bullrush" + Eng "mat" + -a.

poliwág

Tadpole. Cf. W. and N. "polliwig", SE and SW U.S. "pollywog", ditto.

rayzin-bómp

Excema, acne. Cf. W. "rising" "a small abcess or boil, a swelling", + "bump".

rentš

Rinse. Cf. gen. dial. "rench", ditto.

réŋk(iš)

Fishy-smelling. Cf. WYks. "renk" "nasty" ("rank" = "nasty" in most U.S. dialects).

rodžóys

A lumbering, heavy or ugly thing,
used in similes. Cf. Sc. "rodger,
rodgerin" "anything large and ugly
of its kind; a big person of rude
manners".

sabáno

To settle, reside, take up residence.

?Cf. Sc. "sab" "to settle down" + ?

salí-wansáy

A swing or pendulum. Cf. Scots "sal-
ly" "move from side to side, a
swaying, swinging motion", and Norf.
"a swing for children"; + "one side".

sokin-blód

Leeches. Possible transference of
species from Cumb. "sucky-blood"
"telephorus lividus, a bright red
bug".

stóma

Stammer, stutter. Cf. Shrops. "stom-
mer, stomber" "confuse, confound",
and Sc. "stommer" "stammer".

swag

To swerve. Cf. gen. dial. "swag"
"to sway from side to side".

swindž

To singe, esp. the feathers from a chicken prior to plucking. Cf.

gen. dial. "swinge", ditto.

taliwán

Penis. Cf. SChes., NWDer. "tally-wag"

"membrum virile". Also Limba talí

ditto, JC talawa "sexually potent"

(DJE).

tán (leke)

To be like; seem. Cf. WYorks "stand

like" "resemble, be like, seem like".

tíga

A kick or stamp on the leg or foot,

esp. in soccer. Cf. Sc. "tig" "a

sharp blow" (but gen. dial. "a tap").

tíla

Stick used by fishermen to stun fish;

to use one of these. Cf. gen. S.

"tiller" "stick, branch, sapling".

tísta

The frame over a bed for supporting

a mosquito net. Cf. U.S. dialects

"tester", "four-poster bed".

tóris

Vain, flashy, cheap, usu. of girls.

¿Cf. Nhumb. "'torious" "notorious".

toskaré

To wander away, pack up and go. Cf.

Sc. "turse" "pack up in a bale; to

take oneself off quickly, march

with an expedition; to walk" + ?

(Sc. also has "scarry" "frightened",

but unless one considers a situation

in which people left because of fear

(as did many Maroons in Freetown)

this element is unlikely).

tósul

A tassle, bobble. Cf. Tyrone and

Tristan da Cunha Eng "tossle", do.

tšádža

A large serving platter. Cf. Ches.,

Yorks., Suss. "charger", ditto.

tšop

Food, to eat. Widely used in Krio but

considered to be "Pidgin English".

Cf. gen. dial. "chop" "jaws, lips,

mouth", Yorks "food for horses".

Trinidad has tšap "eat, drink": "le'

we chop a little rum, man". Cf.

also "chop sticks".

waló

To dribble a soccer ball. Cf. Sc.

and Ire. "wallow" "to roll on the ground" (used transitively?).

wíkade

Weekday. Cf. EYorks "week-a-day", do.

wenkwénke

Tall, lanky, gangly, to describe physique. Cf. Yks. "wenkle" "loose-jointed, limber, supple".

witškráf

A witch; witchcraft. Cf. Norf. "witchcraft" "a witch", but possibly a calque from SY adžé "witch, witchcraft". Also both meanings in Gu.

wíron

To wander about aimlessly. Cf. Sc.

"weeron, weeron" "to work in a trifling, insignificant way".

wolwéf

Wrasse fish. Cf. W. "old wife" "the balan wrasse (labrus maculatus fish)".

Also Sr owru-weyfi, ditto.

wórom

Worm. Cf. Corn. "worom", ditto.

yála

Yellow. Cf. gen. dial. "yaller", do.

yangeyángo

Fussy, factious, fastidious. Cf. Dev.

and Berks. "yang" "to say irritating things, to deride, mock".

yúkiyúki

Hypocrisy. Cf. Notts. "hook" "to cheat, deceive", or Yorks "heuky" "avaricious".

II.1.4.5 Examples of items occurring in Krio, the source-forms of which appear to have become obsolete in both standard and dialectal English, are as follows (1):

balósta

A bannister or balustrade. Cf. "baluster" "a bannister" (18th C.).

gus

A flatiron heated by placing live coals inside. Cf. "gusing iron", do. (19th C.).

kosmént

kostamént

} Customer. Possibly a back-formation of the assumed plural, obs. "customaunce"

1) It is possible too that some of the dialect forms in II.1.4.4. above, recorded at the turn of the century, are by now also obsolete. Items in II.1.4.5 are from DAP unless otherwise stated.

or "customance", with subsequent hypercorrection (cf. loss of assumed plural morpheme in iklíp "eclipse", tšayní "Chinese", etc., see II.1.7.3). (17th C.).

múskyat

The muskrat, fiber zibethicus. Recorded as "muske cat" by Hakluyt (1589) and Johnson (1580), but "musk-rat" the only recorded form since 1620 (SOED). Gullah also has máscat for this.

paravéntšo

Perhaps. Cf. "peradventure" (-1624) (SOED).

pok'pént (1)

Porcupine. Cf. 16th C. "pork-point", ditto, with the Kr vowel [e] a reflex from [Ay] in the 16th C. pronunciation ['porkpɔynt].

1) In the present orthography for Krio, k'p (and g'b) represents a sequence of velar and labial stops (/k+/p/, /g+/b/) rather than the implosive labiovelar /kp/ and /gb/.

fɔ

As regards: wé fɔ dʒón "what about John".

Cf. "what for John" (see Abbott [1873], p. 100.

fɔ

Preverbal infinitive marker: a lɛk fɔ gó "I like to go".

Western dialects had until this century for... "as a sign of the infinitive of purpose: 'hast gotten a bit for mend it with?'".

sɛf

Same, particular: dá sɛf tʂɛn "that same chain", wán sɛf kíŋ "a particular king".

Cf. Elizabethan "that self chain", "one self king" (Abbott [1873], p. 65).

wan

Above all, especially: na í wán fɔ luk "he especially is to be looked at".

Cf. Elizabethan "he one is to be praised" (Abbott [1873], p. 28).

sízas

Scissors, from some form such as

Nyländer's "scissars" (1814). The modern Eng form would have yielded *sízos, cf. médžo "major", etc.

skwáya

Square. Possibly from some early

(16th C.) form such as Palsgrave's "squyer"; the regular reflex would have yielded *skwíya (cf. Sr kwéri, JC (s)kwir).

For archaic features of syntax, see II.1.6.0, infra.

II.1.5.0 Other sources of English-derived vocabulary

A small number of items, while not of ultimate English origin, appear to have been introduced into Krio via some variety of that language, e.g. the speech of sailors, or of repatriated American and West Indian slaves. Some of these items, such as kokó, kušú or tšotšó, may have been introduced by the Jamaican Maroons, since they also occur in Jamaican Creole, while others such as džigá or nanás were probably introduced into West Africa at different periods by the English, Portuguese and French independently, considering their

widespread occurrence there. The following items belong in this category:

džigá

Sand-flea.

Probably via JC džíga or tšíga,
cf. Antilles Fr Cr šik, Sr-Sara
síka, Gu íge, CP tšíga, ult.

Carib síkë.

kokó

The coco-yam, *xanthosoma saggitifolium*.

See this item at III.4.4.5.

kušú

Cashew, *anacardium occidentale*, the leaves of which are used in tonics for bowel complaints.

Probably via JC kyášu, kášu,
kúšu, ult. Tupi acajú; cf. Fr
acajou, Ptg. acaju.

nanás

Pineapple.

See this item at II.2.4.3.

tšotšó

The vine *sechium edule* and its fruit, also called christophine or chayote.

Probably via JC tšótšo, tšúotšuo

≤ Cuban Sp chote ≤ Brazilian
Amerindian (Tupi?) tšutšu. The
forms šušu (Réunion) and susu
(Mauritius) occur in the Mascar-
enian creoles for this plant
(Baker, Corne).

II.1.5.1 A number of English items have entered Krio via
another African language; such words may have been intro-
duced into Krio since the speakers of languages containing
them, present in the Freetown situation, may have felt that
they were English rather than indigenous:

akpétési

A storey-house.

Cf. SY kpetéssi, ditto (≤ "up-
stairs"?).

oyimbó

European, Englishman.

Cf. SY oyimbó, ditto (≤ "John
Bull"? Krio also has džombúl,
"Englishman").

salúbáta

Sandals made from used car tires.

Cf. Hau salubba "slipper" (<

Eng) + ta, the fem. subject

suffix.

II.1.5.2 An instance of a Krio-derived item being reintroduced into Krio after being adopted into Temne is provided by the Kr pair bag~bayg and bək; Krio bag (or bayg) was adopted into Temne as am-bêk "money pouch", and subsequently taken into Krio in the form bək to mean simply "money" (1).

II.1.5.3 A possible English form which has passed into Krio via a French creole has been discussed below (džasapán, II. 3.2.4).

- 1) It is in fact likely that many of the English-derived items adopted into indigenous West African languages were introduced via Krio rather than English; the peregrinations of the Creoles in West Africa have been described elsewhere (I.3.1.1, III.5.2.1), and such items as the following are probably directly due to their influence: Efik bókit "headscarf" (<Kr pokétán "handkerchief"), Twi o-krabíri "person of low character" (<Kr krabít "par-simonious") and trapô "tarpaulin" (<Kr tapól, ditto), Hau kyándir "candle" (<Kr kyándul, ditto), SY maréde "wedding" (<Kr máred, ditto) and fadá "priest" (<Kr

II.1.5.4 Krio items in English

A number of items probably existed in Krio (or some variety of the English-derived coastal lingua franca) before entering metropolitan English, being introduced into the latter by returning seamen. Such terms included names for African plants, such as "camwood" (kyãwúd, IV.2.4.1) or "cola" (kóla, IV.2.4.1) or for newly-encountered concepts such as the hammock (amáka, amók, II.2.4.1). Several of the earliest, Portuguese-derived creole terms are now fully-assimilated into metropolitan English, with no connotation of colonial life or the Atlantic trade (except perhaps for "piccaninny"): "palaver" (plába, II.2.4.6), "piccaninny" (pikín, II.2.4.6 and II.1.3.3n) and "savvy" (sabí, II.2.4.6). Another area of creole influence which is perhaps less readily apparent, and which bears much further research, is the extent to which creole idiom has influenced metropolitan English. Many Black (and especially

fadá, ditto), Mende gádi "garden" (<Kr gádin), Mdg tafaló "kind of red cloth" (<Kr taftí(n), ditto) and Te a-flêṅk "flag" (<Kr flag-flayg, ditto).

Black American) expressions, such as "doing one's thing", "getting it together", "that's my bag", or being "with it", have passed into general English, and while seemingly of recent coinage such idioms have striking parallels in many West African languages ⁽¹⁾. It is not impossible that these expressions have been used by the Afroamerican population for many years, originating as calqued Africanisms in an earlier creolized English traceable to the Guinea Coast. The Krio influence upon Gullah is clear, and has been discussed by the writer elsewhere ⁽²⁾.

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- 1) Work in this direction has been started by Dr David Dalby at the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London.
 - 2) Hancock (1969).

II.1.6.0 Archaic and dialectal grammatical retentions

Apart from lexical retentions, discussed above, such features as have been retained in Krio from earlier English usage, and which have become obsolete or restricted in the latter, are generally apparent only in the syntax. Whatever morphological features occurred in the English of the European speakers during the formative period have become lost in the process of creolization.

II.1.6.1 Syntactically, few non-standard English features can be isolated in Krio which are not paralleled in many of the languages of the Guinea Coast; the possibility of convergence, with resulting reinforcement, must be considered.

II.1.6.2 Syntactic and other features of Krio grammar which appear to have an origin now archaic or dialectal in English are drawn from Abbott (1873), who described the English of Shakespeare (1564-1616), and Wright (1968), who surveyed and described the English dialects of the British Isles at the end of the 19th century.

II.1.6.3 Verbs

- a) Krio de or di as a marker of progressive action may be compared with English auxiliary "do": "Do originally meant 'cause, make', and was followed by an infinitive. Gradually do came to be used without any notion of causation: 'do strip', but as a rule do had become a mere auxiliary, so that we even find it an auxiliary to itself, as in who does do you wrong?" (Abbott, p. 215, cf. Kr ú de dú yu rón?). This survives in southwestern dialects (Wright, p. 297), cf. Devonshire [pr də jeužli gu.v ə marnən] "I usually go of a morning", [i. də wɜrk mous derz] "he works most days". Compare forms in related creoles and in African languages (VI.3.2.1), and note the parallel between the JC form a (Kr a de gó, JC mi a gúo, "I am going") and the widespread dialectal use of pre-participle a-, as in "I'm a-going" (Wright, p. 297).
- b) The Krio preverbal negator nó or ná may derive from the earlier omission of "do" before "not". According to Abbott (p. 216) "In Early English the tenses were rep-

resented by their inflexions, and there was no need of the auxiliary 'do'. As the inflexions were disused, 'do' came into use, and was frequently employed by Elizabethan authors. They, however, did not always observe the modern rule [!] of using the auxiliary whenever not precedes the verb, thus — 'I not doubt', 'whereof the ewe not bites', 'it not belongs to you', etc." (cf. Kr a nó dāwt "I do not doubt", i nó blánt yú "it doesn't belong to you"). The vowel of Krio nó indicates derivation from "not" rather than "no"; the variant ná may originate in some dialect form such as Scots "na", "nae", "naw". This pattern of negation is paralleled both in many West African languages and in Portuguese.

- c) Use of fɔ, "for", as the preverbal infinitive marker has been discussed above (II.1.4.5).
- d) Some common Krio verbs derive from English preterite or other forms, rather than from the indicative; this may be a feature which originated in some variety of naut-

ical pidgin, and reintroduced into coastal dialects of English by seamen. Cf. Kr brok "break", with Scots and Irish "bruck", lef "leave" with Somerset and Devon "leff", as in "I be gwoine leff'm by'm bye", los "lose" with Somerset, Devon, EScot. and Yorks "loss", ditto. Similarly, the apparent shift of form-class in Krio lo "to lower" (≤low) and ot "to extinguish" (≤out) or "to heat" (≤hot), may reflect influence from Scots "low" "to lower", Hamps. "out" "to extinguish" and Yorks "hot" "to heat up".

II.1.6.4 Nouns

- a) Some dialects of English lack singular/plural distinction for many nouns, e.g. "chick" "chicks", "pipe" "pipes", etc. (Wright, p. 261). This is unlikely to have been the principal source of the Krio feature, however, which has adapted to the common West African system of indicating plurality, i.e. syntactically rather than morphologically.
- b) According to Wright (p. 265), English dialects omit the genitival link "in all the North Country ... and

occasionally in the North Midlands", e.g. "the queen cousin", "my father boots", "the lad father stick", cf. Kr di kwín kózín, mi dadí búť, di bóbó í dadí tík. This is also paralleled in some West African languages.

II.1.6.5 Pronouns

- a) Use of "his", "he" in referring to females is recorded from WSom., Midl., S. and SW. counties (Wright, p.266), cf. Kr i "he, she", im "him, her", etc. This is likely to be an African feature, few West African languages having pronominal gender distinction.
- b) The third person singular pronoun has the form [im] or [en] in the object case throughout southwestern England (Wright, p. 272), cf. Kr am, im, JC im, Sr en and Gu əm.
- c) In WYorks., "that's" is used for "his" or "hers". Krio may employ dis "this" and dat "that" with reference to human beings: na dís tēl mi "he (in sight) told me".
- d) Use of "self" ("still retained in Creole patois", Abbott, p. 28), has been discussed supra (II.1.4.5).
- e) "Them" or "dem" occurs generally in the dialects for "those" (Wright, p. 279), cf. Kr dé "those".

II.1.6.6 The articles

- a) Abbott (p. 65) notes the absence of articles with certain prepositions, as in "at door", i.e. "at the door". This is paralleled in Krio na dó, JC a dúo, etc., as well as in na grón "on the ground", drínk pan kóp "to drink from a cup", etc.

II.1.7.0 Semantic behaviour

No English item corresponds exactly to its Krio ~~deriv-~~
~~active~~ active. The word "yellow"/yála for example, refers to the colour in both Krio and English, but conveys the notion of cowardice only in the latter; similarly "sour"/sáwa means "tart" in both Krio and English, but has the additional gloss of "festering" only in the former. Grammatical items ^{may} too differ considerably in their behaviour; Krio may use di "the" with proper names, e.g. wé di džón? or dě "the (pl.)" with hours of time, e.g. bay dě fó "by four o'clock" in ways more reminiscent of Portuguese than English. There are several processes of modification accounting for these diver-

gences: semantic shift, whereby a new meaning replaces that of the source-form, semantic variation, whereby two or more items differing semantically and phonologically in Krio share the same English source-form, semantic extension, whereby a new Krio meaning is acquired in addition to that of the source-form, and semantic specialization, whereby the Krio item has a narrower application than the English source form.

II.1.7.1 Semantic shift

drek

Goose.

Cf. "drake"; the word gus exists in Krio (see II.1.4.5) with the meaning "flat-iron". "Drake" is mándoks (≪man+ducks) in Krio, a simile for arrogance.

džúbloks

Egg plant sp.

See this item at II.1.4.4.

floks

Green, unripe fruit.

Cf. "flux", "diarrhoea", and II.1.4.4.

grinfláy

Bluebottle, blow-fly.

Cf. Eng "greenfly". This is

šínkorí-tšíkorí (<?) in Kr.

tšik

The chin.

Cf. Eng "cheek". This is

dža-džabón-džábat (< jawbone)

in Kr.

polí

Parrot.

This appears to be a shift which took place in Krio and has been reintroduced into English; "polly" exists in the Lakeland dialects to mean "magpie", like the parrot a species of bird able to imitate the human voice. It is possible that English sailors, encountering the unfamiliar parrot in West Africa called it "polly", identifying it with the indigenous

British bird with which it shared
an outstanding feature. Temne has
ám-polí, probably via Krio.

II.1.7.1a Several nominals in Krio derive from English plural forms, but may be preceded by numeral wan "one" in Krio:

<u>antš</u> "ant" (<ants)	<u>foks</u> "fork"
<u>bans</u> "crowds" (see II.1.4.4)	<u>gadinégs</u> "garden egg"
<u>bánguls</u> "bangle"	<u>íntšis</u> "inch"; "hinge"
<u>bintš</u> "bean" (<beans)	<u>kólos</u> "(hair) curler"
<u>bitás</u> "bitter-leaf"	<u>kromskróms</u> "crumb"
<u>blubéls</u> "bluebell"	<u>lósis</u> "(financial) loss"
<u>bomps</u> "mumps" (<bumps)	<u>losíndžis</u> "lozenge"
<u>bons</u> "bun"	<u>mánas</u> "manners"
<u>briks</u> "brick"	<u>mátšis</u> "match"
<u>ðoks</u> "duck"	<u>nókuls</u> "knuckle-duster"
<u>drops</u> "earring" (<drops)	<u>nyams~yams</u> "yam"
<u>džams</u> "germ"	<u>pils</u> "pill"
<u>džonks</u> "rummage sale" (<junks)	<u>ribs</u> "rib"
<u>džus</u> "albino" (?<Jews)	<u>rózis</u> "rose"
<u>fiks</u> "fit"	<u>sams</u> "psalm"
<u>greps</u> "grape"	

sándals "sandal"

tamátis "tomato"

slangs "slang"

toys "toy"

sódžis "soldier"

yes "ear"

soks "sock"

yelobéls "flower sp." (≤yellow
bells)

sus "shoe"

šots "grammatical errors"

wakís "food" (≤Yorks. dialect
"whack", "food").

(≤shots)

II.1.7.1b An assumed pluralizing -s has been lost from the following English items in their Krio forms:

džepaní "Japanese"

podogí "Portuguese"

iklíp "eclipse"

stok "stocks"

kapsáy "capsize"

tšayní "Chinese"

láysin "licence"

II.1.7.1c Shift of form-class from English participle to Krio indicative has been noted for the following verbs:

fíšin "to fish"

tékin "conceive; take to"

galivántin "to gallivant"

trédin "to trade, barter"

kwíknin "to move, of foetus" tšendží(n) "to exchange"

skípin "to skip"

wóndrin "to wonder"

Other irregularly-derived verbs in Krio include díyas "to

dare" (≪3rd person sing. "dares"), máred "to marry (also "wedding")" (≪preterite "married"), skíyad "to scare, be scared" (≪preterite "scared"), tiklís "to tickle" (≪adjectival "ticklish"). See also II.1.6.3d.

II.1.7.1d. Shift of proper to common nouns

The lexicon of Krio has been augmented in an ingenious way by incorporating various proper nouns, names of persons and places, into the language with shift of meaning to apply to non-proper concepts. This may be a specifically creole device for building the vocabulary (see VI.0.0.0) ⁽¹⁾, although Yoruba and Temne informants report the same phenomenon in their languages. Examples of names of persons in Krio include:

alan-kóba(n) de "Friday, pay-day" (?≪Alan Cover Day)

basma-frídž in the simile kól lek' basma-frídž "as cold as

Basma's refrigerator". The Lebanese trader Basma was

1) Cf. Chinook Jargon kiŋ-tšótš-man "Englishman" (≪King George man), JC ikla-buut "sandal type" (≪Hitler boot), etc.

the first to stock refrigerators in Freetown.

berin-besí "woman who constantly turns up at funerals" (≪burying Bessie).

bituls-bút "high-heeled men's boot" (≪Beatles boot).

bol-merí "a girl who loves dancing" (≪Ball Mary).

brándon-sayz "an especially large penis" (≪Brandon size).

bundží-ás "a horse-drawn hearse", the first of which was owned by the Lebanese Bunji.

dotí-kolómbó "a dirty person" (≪Dirty Columbo).

džerí-moré "the spirit of a European inhabiting Sussex Village" (≪Jerry Murray).

džon-bénsin-de "Saturday" (≪John Benson Day. Jamaican Creole has "Ben Johnson Day", "Friday").

džonólt "penis" (≪John Holt).

ekemóre "a Freetown lot used as a society meeting-place" (≪the name of the one-time owner A.K. Murray).

froy "to keep two sweethearts at once" (≪Herald Froy, author of How to survive matrimony and other titles, popular in Freetown).

konó-kómpin "birds of a feather" (≪the Konnoh tribe, noted

for their cliquishness).

mózis "kind of open sandal" (≪Moses).

owosévin "female hairstyle" (≪O.O.7., James Bond. This name has ousted earlier sevinóp, ≪7Up, the brand name of a soft drink).

padžóbsin "a gin addict" (≪Pa Jobson).

rampul-džáret "an untidily-dressed person" (≪Rumpled Jarrett).

salí-pe-prézent "a girl who constantly turns up at parties, usually uninvited" (≪Sally Pay Present).

sizá "Caesarian birth", in the expression i kám bay sizá (≪Caesar).

smeli-elí "an unclean person" (≪Smelly Ellie).

sosó "simile for an insouciant person" (≪Susu, which tribe is noted for this characteristic).

soní-ógi "one who turns up at every social function, generally uninvited" (≪Sonny Hoggie).

spay-yay-džáksin "a school cheat" (≪Spy Eye Jackson).

timošenks "local gin" (≪Timoshenko, the 'man of iron' ⁽¹⁾).

1) From Enahoro (1965), p. 57.

Other shifts from names of places ⁽¹⁾ include:

bedžan-gyál "promiscuous girl" (<Barbadian girl).

bóma "jail" (<Burma, synonymous with danger or excitement from the War years, when many Sierra Leoneans served in that country).

lobító "marijuana" (<Lobito, the Congolese port from which it is shipped).

sendžágo-gyál "promiscuous girl" (<St. Jago, Santiago?).

A separate category of proper-to-common nouns includes those of biblical origin; these are especially characteristic of the Creoles, for whom Christianity is an integral part of their identity and way of life. A knowledge of such expressions is indicative of familiarity with the scriptures, a

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- 1) Non-English-derived examples include džebú-moní "counterfeit money" (<Ijebu, the Nigerian town where this was made), futá "fish sp." (<Futa Jalon, an ~~area~~ area to the north of Sierra Leone), egbóšeré "wretchedness" (<'Egbo Sherry', an old name for the Ibíbio), kobo-fút "knock-knees" (?<SY kobókobó "opprobrious term for the Igbo people"), adédžobí "revivalist cult" (<the name of its founder, Adejòbí), etc.

positive virtue and a necessary one for those trained in a Creole home:

dán-en-danyél "a pair of fools" (≤ Dan and Daniel).

džúdas "a quisling, traitor" (≤ Judas).

džus "an albino" (? ≤ Jews. The legend of the Wandering Jew may have provided a connection with the Creole belief that džús nó de dáy; dē kin džís lós, "Albinos never die, they merely wander off and become lost").

fúl-galéšan "a spendthrift, wastrel" (≤ fool Galatian).

nikodímōs "one who conducts his business at night" (≤ Nicodemus).

noádóv "one long absent" in the simile i gó lēke noádóv "he went (away for as long as) Noah's dove".

ontowúm "non-Creole Sierra Leonean" (≤ "unto whom...", the beginning of a biblical passage).

II.1.7.2 Semantic variation

Several pairs of items, historically cognate but differing semantically occur in Krio, resulting from the same English term entering Krio at two different periods in the latter's development. The earlier of the two is usually

identifiable by its phonology ⁽¹⁾. Examples are:

dreb "to shoo away", drayv "to drive a vehicle" (<drive).

fíba "to resemble", févo "favour" (<favour).

kópa "copper", kópo "money" (<copper).

méresin "native medicine", médisin "western medicine" (<medicine), for some speakers.

pot "tell tales on", ripót "report" (<report).

ton "penis", ston "stone" (<stone), the latter coming into use to avoid confusion with the former.

træk "to hit", strayk "to strike, refuse to work" (<strike).

trim "to thread a needle", triŋ "tie up" (<string).

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- 1) Phonological variation also occurs between earlier simplex and later complex items adopted into Krio, e.g. ásis "ash", but aštré "ash-tray", bred "bread", but brednót "breadnut", gron "ground", but ondagráwn "underground", mot "mouth", but mawtógan "mouth-organ", nat "nut", but brednót "breadnut", pit "spit", but spitin-snék "spitting-snake", res "rice", but raysbréd "rice-bread", yála "yellow", but yelobéls "yellow-bells (sp. of flower)".

II.1.7.3 Semantic extension

A large number of items of Krio vocabulary have developed new meanings in addition to that corresponding more closely to the English source-form. These may be the result of calquing, e.g. fut referring to the leg as well as the foot, belé "belly" rather than at "heart" being the seat of the emotions, etc., or else simply the result of natural expansion within the language. Examples include:

džágwa

- 1) The Jaguar automobile, a symbol of opulence.

- 2) Super, terrific, splendid.

Cf. "Jaguar".

džáman

- 1) German.
- 2) Any incomprehensible speech, probably a legacy from the 19th century Swiss and German missionaries in Sierra Leone (poorly-spoken Krio is džáman-krió).

flómóks

- 1) To confuse, be confused.
- 2) To take a fall.

Cf. "flummox".

graní-frók

- 1) An old-fashioned style of dress.
- 2) An old-fashioned Coast penny.

Cf. "granny frock", see
discussion at III.1.3.1
under dandógó.

kro

- 1) To crow, of a cockerel.
- 2) A rooster's comb.

Cf. "crow".

man

- 1) Man.
- 2) The male of any species: man-káw
"bull" (<man+cow), mán-pikin,
"boy baby", etc.

plet-písis

- 1) Dishrag.
- 2) A cissified or effeminate male.

Cf. "plate pieces".

rábit

- 1) Rabbit, coney.
- 2) The royal antelope, chevrotain.

Probably called thus by Europeans
because of similarity of speed
and size between the two.

II.1.7.3a Euphemisms

A further category of semantic extension includes those terms employed euphemistically for indelicate or secretive topics. These are comparable with the use of biblical expressions (II.1.7.1d supra) as a mark of piety and correct religious upbringing, and are characteristic of the Victorian mores of Creole society, which are still much in evidence. Like euphemisms in most languages, those in Krio are concerned with excretory and reproductive functions, infirmities, drink and smuggling:

big-dadí

Smallpox (see VI.4.4.2).

Cf. "big daddy".

biyol-biyól

An impotent man.

Cf. biyól "nevertheless" (< behold), probably from a 'muttered aside'... "he's a nice fellow, even though...".

botom-ébi

Said of a babe in arms which has defecated in its diaper.

Cf. "bottom heavy".

dokta-džóns

The W.C., as in a de gó sí dokta dž~

"I'm going to the W.C.".

Cf. "Doctor Jones".

fam

Honeymoon, usually spent in a rural settlement.

Cf. "farm".

folfés

Intoxication, in the expression a de bigín wér f~ "I'm starting to get drunk".

Cf. folfés "a mask" (< Scots dial "fauce-face", ditto).

granát-yáy

Term used for a diamond in the mining areas, where even mentioning the name of the gem invites suspicion.

Cf. "groundnut eye".

graní

To perform the duties of a midwife:
salwá graní fo í met "Salwa acted as midwife for her co-wife".

Cf. "granny", grandmothers usually performing this task in earlier times.

kozín

Monthly period: mi kozín nó kám et,
"my cousin hasn't arrived yet".

Also tréndža "stranger, guest", etc.

ot-kón

A virgin, in the context of discovering the wife to be so after the wedding night.

Cf. "hot corn", although the connection is unclear.

pus-yáy

Diamond. See granat-yáy, supra.

Cf. pus-yáy "cat's eye".

rúdnes

Copulation.

Cf. "rudeness".

sók-yu-mamí-bobí

The sensitive plant.

See discussion at VI.4.2.On.

stíka

Fork.

Cf. "sticker", to avoid use of
^{"fork" or}
fok ("fuck"). For the same
reason the variant foks "fork"
may be used by some speakers.

wás yu fés

Wash your genitals, said (usually
by the grandmother) to their grand-

daughters, accompanied by foot-tapping or some facial gesture to specify that it is not the face which is meant.

Cf. "wash your face".

wes

The buttocks.

Cf. "waist", which is mídul in

Kr. See discussion at VI.4.4.2.

yad

The W.C.

Cf. "yard".

II.1.7.4 Semantic specialization

Krio items whose semantic range is narrower than that of the English source-form are less numerous, since most K1 speakers are more or less familiar with English, and as a consequence familiar with the English meanings of such items. Semantically specialized items are far more common in the non-English-derived lexicon (see for example those of Yoruba derivation at III.1.3.3). Those of English origin may reflect forms with complex morphemes in the source-item, e.g. kónta (≪count+er) or láyknes (≪like+ness) and adopted as simplex morphemes into Krio, or forms which are not in common use

in present-day English, e.g. abáná (<Havana [hat]) or búli (<bully, in the sense of splendid, successful). Examples include:

abáná

A style of hat.

Cf. "Havana" "a broad-brimmed hat". The Cuban capital is avána in Kr.

búli

One who excels, e.g. at school or sport.

Cf. "bully" "enjoyable; assertive". A pugnacious person is agbálá.

day

Unless specified, this is assumed to be indigo dye.

Cf. "dye".

drops

Pendant earrings.

Cf. "drops". Drops of liquid are drap or líli ~.

džaráf

Simile for an especially tall child.

Cf. "giraffe", practically unknown in Sierra Leone.

inspáya

To receive the holy spirit, in revivalist cult ritual; "see the light".

Cf. "inspire". The regular Eng meaning is expressed by a gé' di máyn fɔ... "I had the mind to", mi máyn gí mi fɔ... "my mind gave me to...", etc.

kónta

Counter in a store.

Cf. "counter". One who counts is kɔnt-mán, mán we de kɔnt, etc.

láyknes

Photograph.

Cf. "likeness". The concept of resemblance is expressed verbally, with fíba "resemble" (<favour) or tán lɛkɛ "be like" (<stand like).

II.1.8.0 The diglossia situation

The general feeling in Sierra Leone is that Krio is an inferior variety of English, without grammar or literature, and an obstacle to the acquisition of the latter the use of which should be discouraged. This situation, called diglossia, is not unusual in societies where a creole is spoken alongside its source-language; in other situations where this is not the case, such as that of Malaccan Creole Portuguese in (Malay/Chinese/English-speaking) Malaysia, or Sranan in (Dutch-speaking) Surinam, the psychological effects are less evident.

II.1.8.1 The reasons for the feelings of the Creoles toward their language lie in the history, as well as the current state, of the language. The common belief is that it developed out of slavery, an idea which automatically assigns it an inferior social rating, and negative emotional overtones for some people (1). For very few Creoles Krio is seen as

1) Compare the similar attitude toward the use of Yiddish in Israel.

a badge of ethnicity, although with the current, American-influenced assertion of Black awareness, some younger Creoles identify Krio in a positive way with "soul talk", a kind of English uniquely Black. But for the majority, Krio in modern times is a way of speaking punishable in the schools, a means of expression without books or newspapers, having no official status, and apart from its use in news-readings used in broadcasting only for children's programs, and then seldom.

II.1.8.2 Against this stands English, fulfilling all the positive rôles of communication, and providing access to the outside world. It is hardly surprising that fluency in English is seen as a highly-desired social and educational goal. While English intrusions into Krio are almost never corrected by parents, Krio intrusions into English generally are. A person will spik "speak" English but tɔk "talk" Krio; if he makes a mistake he is said to šut "shoot", and his mistakes are šots "shots" (sg.). The expression yu šút mi sáy "you shot me in the side" means "you've made an error in your English while speaking to me" (but one can lɔk "lock" a per-

son with a Krio word or expression, i.e. stump him with one which is too "deep", cryptic or unfamiliar). The exalted position of English vis-à-vis Krio may have some repercussions in the latter, such as the very common folk-etymologizing towards English, reflecting a desire to anglicize the language, the occurrence of spelling-pronunciations, probably resulting from the honest efforts of those attempting to improve their command of English from books, but never hearing the spoken word, or else the over-correction of several Krio items according to English phonology:

II.1.8.3 Folk-etymology

aligéta-pépe

Alligator pepper.

Cf. Latin aframomum meleguetum, ditto.

bat

Girlfriend, taken to be < Eng "bat" and giving rise to the alternative klob < Eng "club".

Cf. Te u-báthé "lady-friend, favourite wife".

bel

To make flirtatious talk with a woman, said to be from "belling the cat".

Cf. Te =belmâ "to flatter".

íntšis

Hinges. This word also means "inch", the supposition being that hinges are one or two inches long.

Cf. íntšis "inch" (<inches).

edž-bón

H-bone, a cut of meat, thought to be "edge bone".

kabaslót

A female's over-garment, popularly supposed to have first been made from material purchased from one Cabbah, whose stall stood on an empty lot.

Cf. "coverslut" "type of overall".

kekrebú

See this entry at III.4.4.2.

krésmes

Christmas, so-pronounced by some (K2) speakers who regard it as the time when Creoles kres, i.e. "go mad" (kres, II.1.4.4).

kontafíli }
kontofíli }

Mutual ill-will, explained as deriving from Eng "counter-feelings".

Cf. Su kontofíli "troubled, embarrassed".

krosbrídž

A mulatto, supposedly "cross bridge".

Cf. "cross-breed".

maklét

A vaccination, because the mark appears later.

Cf. "maculate" , i.e. to mark.

mamí-sopóta

A papaw-like fruit, explained as "mammy supporter". Like aligéta pépe above, the name is based on its Latin nomenclature.

Cf. Lat. mammea americana sapotaceæ, ditto.

pénsul

Pestle, derived from "pencil" probably on analogy of shape.

pistél-tití

Noisy, flighty girl. Form suggests "piss tail" + tití "girl", but see discussion at II.1.4.4.

sawa-biyén

See II.3.2.8.

wido-bód

Whydah bird, etymologized to

"widow bird".

II.1.8.4 Spelling-pronunciations

These are fairly numerous, and do not appear to be dropped or corrected when the source-form is known. Examples are:

banáysi "the proper name Bernice" (cf. the expected reflex *banís).

déngyu-déngi "dengue fever" (cf. *den).

dródžis "druggist" (*drógis).

džepaní "Japanese" (*džapaní).

fástina "fastener, zip" (*fásna).

gilyán "the proper name Gillian" (*džilyán).

kánéda "Canada" (*kánáda-kánída).

keytráyn "the proper name Catherine" (*katrín-kyatrín).

kósed "accursed" (*kəs, unless a retention of ['kAsɪd]).

lístin "listen" (*lísin).

sálmon "salmon" (*sámon-sámin).

stráyped "striped" in anglicized Krio (trep, strayp).

yunáysi "the proper name Eunice" (*yunís).

II.1.8.5 Overcorrection

Examples in this category may be related to the phonological correspondences discussed at II.1.1.0. They include the overcorrection of vowel-reflexes, e.g.

bayt

To bet, wager, a back-formation of the normal reflex Eng /Δy/ : Kr /ε/.

Cf. Kr bet "bite".

kaypóp

To manage, get by.

Cf. "keep up".

rimáynd

To remand.

Cf. "remind".

A small number of items have final -ó as a back-formation of the reflex Eng /ou/ : Kr /a/ (e.g. yála "yellow", šála "shallow", wítla "whitlow", etc.): flandó "flounder", pweló "a wet blanket (fig.)" (<*pwelá <"spoiler"), slaydó "one who avoids another" (<*slaydá <"slider"), wiskó "whiskers", etc.

The over-correction of syllable-loss, e.g.

láyabel Libel (although "liable" for "libel" is a common error for many English speakers).

penáriti Penalty.

The over-correction of consonant-cluster simplification, e.g.

kwilt Quill.

stren Train (of thought), as in yu gé mi strén? "do you get my drift?".

K2 (Temne) speakers often over-correct /y/ to /dž/, e.g.

distródž Destroy (Kl distróy).

plédža Player (Kl pléya).

II.2.0.0 PORTUGUESE

The Portuguese were the first Europeans to establish permanent settlements in Sierra Leone, and gave the country the name which it bears to the present day.

II.2.0.1 In 1447 Alvaro Fernandez anchored at the Peninsula, followed by Diego Gomez in 1460. Thereafter intercourse between Portugal and Sierra Leone became more frequent, and by the early 1500's the Portuguese had settled along the Bullom shore, and intermarried with the local population. By the end of the century they had also settled in Port Loko and the Scarcies, and were engaged in various forms of trade, dealing in such items as malaguetta pepper, monkeys, parrots and ivory carvings.

II.2.0.2 So well-entrenched were the Portuguese at this time, that a Catholic mission was established, the first priest being active amongst the Africans between 1605 and 1610. This paved the way for later Jesuit and Capuchin missions, but these met with limited success

because not only was Islam making inroads into the country from the north, but English religious influence was also gradually making itself felt. By the 18th century the Portuguese missions were no longer active (1).

II.2.0.3 Although the earliest peoples among whom the Portuguese settled were Bullom-speaking, by 1650 this tribe had been displaced in the area by the Temne (2). Both Bullom and Temne exhibit considerable lexical influence from Portuguese (3).

II.2.0.4 Many of the Portuguese traders and ex-criminals who settled on the Upper Guinea coast at this time became fully integrated into their new society; "those of them who went completely native, stripping off their clothes, tattooing their bodies, speaking the local lan-

1) See Fyfe (1962), pp. 2-3.

2) Op. cit. p. 5.

3) See von S. Bradshaw (1965).

guages, and even joining in fetishistic rites and celebrations, were termed tangos-maos or lançados (1)". Several such groups were established in Sierra Leone, their members acting as middlemen for factories such as the one at Bence Island. Because of their constant evasion of the tax imposed by the Portuguese crown on all overseas trade, these Afro-Portuguese middlemen were liable to execution, according to a law passed in 1518; but because of their remoteness, the law was seldom carried out (2). As English influence increased in Sierra Leone, so the Portuguese moved to other areas or — especially in the case of the lançados — became totally assimilated into the indigenous population. By 1750 Portuguese influence in Sierra Leone was minimal.

II.2.0.5 In 1813, when the Freetown Settlement was twenty-six years old, a group of Portuguese-speaking

1) From C.R. Boxer, The Portuguese seaborne empire, 1415-1825 (London, 1969), p. 31.

2) Ibid.

Liberated Africans were landed, and settled in Pa Demba's town, to the west of Freetown, thereafter known as Portuguese Town (Krio Podogí Ton). The sources are not explicit regarding the provenance of these people, but it is likely that they were Aguda from Brazil (see III.1.4.2), most of whom were resettled in Nigeria.

II.2.1.0 A Portuguese-derived trade pidgin seems to have been in use from the earliest years of Portuguese exploration, and with the establishment of *lançado* communities, the rapid creolization of the pidgin was assured. It is very likely that Portuguese Pidgin or Creole (*Crioulo*) was spoken in parts of coastal Sierra Leone in earlier years, and according to von S. Bradshaw, "up to the present day there have always been some residents in Sierra Leone who could speak the language, but it seems very unlikely that it has been the normal means of communication in any substantial Sierra Leone community within the last hundred years ⁽¹⁾".

1) Op. cit., pp. 12-13.

He does not specify whether the language still spoken in Freetown is Crioulo or metropolitan Portuguese; it may well prove to be the former, spoken by Guiné-born resident traders. To-day Crioulo survives in Upper Guinea in the Cape Verde Islands, Senegal and Guiné. Related dialects are spoken on the Gulf islands of São Tomé, Annobom and Príncipe.

II.2.2.0 The comparatively small number of Portuguese derived items in Krio ⁽¹⁾ suggests the unlikelihood of that language having developed as a relexification of Crioulo ⁽²⁾; the two languages were probably spoken concurrently in the Sierra Leone region, with the Portuguese Pidgin or Creole falling out of use as Iberian interests lessened in the area. Lexical influence was

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- 1) See Hancock (1969), p.12, for a discussion of the Portuguese content in Krio vis-à-vis other Atlantic creoles.
 - 2) See Hancock, op. cit., p. 12 and notes 24-25, p. 31, for arguments against the Relexification Theory.

evident, though slight, upon the English-derived trade language, but very little English content is discernible in any of the Portuguese-derived creoles.

II.2.2.1 The Portuguese-derived items discussed below appear to have entered Krio via at least two distinct sources: As part of the basic (English-derived) Atlantic Pidgin vocabulary, attested by the presence of such items as pikín, sabí, etc. in Surinam, Jamaica and the United States, as well as the Far East (China Coast Pidgin, Neo-Melanesian), and through the intermediary stage of an African language. Items belonging to the latter category occur more frequently in non-Creole Krio (K2), and include popá, nanás, bíyas, yóka, etc. The mutual lexical influence referred to in II.2.2.0 may account for the widespread occurrence of certain Portuguese items in the Atlantic creoles. Some of these have even gained a measure of currency in metropolitan English (see bíyas, pikín and sabí, below). Von S. Bradshaw is probably correct in expressing

doubt that "any Krio words have been borrowed directly from Portuguese in Sierra Leone ⁽¹⁾", and goes on to attribute such items to "West African or Caribbean Pidgin or from Temne ⁽²⁾". He is presumably implying here that the pidgin was Portuguese-derived; the following items in Krio have cognate forms in various New World creoles, and may be assumed to be of Pidgin Portuguese origin: kaká (II.2.4.6), kriyó (II.2.4.4), maláta (II.2.4.4), pikín (II.2.4.4), plába (II.2.4.6), sabí (II.2.4.6), sosó (II.2.4.8) and te (II.2.4.8). Because of the likelihood that Portuguese items in Sierra Leonean languages (including Krio) are in fact from Portuguese Pidgin or Creole rather than from metropolitan Portuguese, Crioulo forms have been cited where available.

1) Op. cit., p. 12.

2) Ibid.

The Portuguese-derived items which Krio shares with one or more indigenous Sierra Leonean language include amáka (II.2.4.1), ba (II.2.4.1), bíyas (II.2.4.2), blay (II.2.4.1), farínya (II.2.4.3), kərín (II.2.4.2), nanás (II.2.4.3), podogí (II.2.4.4), popá (II.2.4.1), popó (II.2.4.3) and yóka (II.2.4.3). Other items from the same source ⁽¹⁾, e.g. kítul, kópo, te, etc., may be traceable to English rather than to Portuguese, or else be convergent forms from both languages. A small number of items, including kítul, komíšon and ménšo, may reflect anglicization of originally Portuguese forms.

II.2.2.2 Von S. Bradshaw states that "there is almost no overlap between the Portuguese loan-words in the vernaculars and the Portuguese content of Pidgin or Coast English. The vernaculars borrowed words for new things which came to them from overseas; the Pidgin

1) Von S. Bradshaw, op. cit.

terms were primarily borrowed by Europeans and mainly apply to things peculiar to West Africa ⁽¹⁾". An examination of the data, however, reveals that over half the Portuguese-derived content of Krio is shared by the local indigenous languages, while the remainder for the most part occur in Sranan, Jamaican Creole, etc., and include such items as "child", "quarrel", "excrement", "know", none of which is peculiarly West African ⁽²⁾.

1) Op. cit., p. 36.

2) A small group of items has been excluded from the present lists, being less probably of Portuguese origin. Significantly none belongs to either of the two categories discussed here. They include lokó (Ptg louco, Sp loco), "crazy", bambú (Ptg bambu) but probably via Eng "bamboo", and mandaría, "prisoner of war" (cf. Ptg mandar, "to command, direct, send", and mandadario, "one who is ordered"). For some speakers the last item has the alternative, though not additional meaning of "Negre-Arab cross".

II.2.3.0 Phonological modification

Because of the likelihood of Portuguese-derived items having entered Krio via the intermediate stage of a pidgin or creole Portuguese, such items must have undergone at least partial phonological modification before being adopted into Krio and the local indigenous languages. The direct source (or sources) for the Krio form is sometimes apparent; e.g. the initial a- in Krio amáka, "hammock", may reflect a fossilized class prefix from the Temne form a-maka, rather than Limba or Loko maka (1).

II.2.3.1 The outstanding phonological differences between Crioulo and Portuguese (2) may be listed as follows, with their occurrence in Krio forms noted where

-
- 1) The Temne form may even have given rise to Sr amáka, Eng hammock, Fr hamac, etc., although the initial vowel may more likely represent the Ptg feminine singular definite article a: a maca, "the hammock".
 - 2) From Wilson (1962), pp. 9-13.

relevant:

- a) Ptg /v/ : Cr /b/, cf. bíyas (II.2.4.2), lebeelébe, (II.2.4.6).
- b) Ptg /ʃ/ : Cr /tʃ/
- c) Ptg /ʒ/ : Cr /dʒ/
- d) Ptg /ʎ/ : Cr /dʒ/
- e) Ptg /-ṽ/ : Cr /-Vɲ/
- f) Crioulo tends to simplify Ptg vowel clusters, e.g. Ptg água, Cr yaagu, "water", cf. Kr gwebá (II.2.4.3).
- g) Crioulo often simplifies Ptg consonant clusters by the insertion of a vowel, e.g. Ptg grande, Cr ga-raandi, "big", cf. Kr faráka (II.2.4.3).
- h) Intrusive nasalization may occur, e.g. Ptg machado, asa, Cr mātšádu, ása, "axe, wing".
- i) Nasalization may be lost for some items, e.g. Ptg homem, sim, Cr ɔomi, si, "man, yes", cf. Kr fráka/faráka (II.2.4.3).
- j) Crioulo stress-distribution is often at variance with the Portuguese, and like Krio appears to re-

flect most closely that of Manding.

II.2.4.0 Semantic areas of adoption

The outstanding feature of Portuguese-derived vocabulary in Krio is the comparatively large number of items connected with trading and the slave trade. While semantic groups such as plants and clothing have been dealt with under separate headings, at least some of the articles listed could justifiably be cross-referred to the category of trade, as fabrics (e.g. kómí-šón, II.2.4.5) and food (e.g. farínya, II.2.4.3) were among the earliest trading commodities.

II.2.4.1 Trade

Several of the items included here are concerned with weights and measures (kítul, ménšɔ), containers, probably for merchandise (blay, ?pɔt), and money itself (ba, kópo). The word amáka has been included here as an item introduced from South America by the Portuguese traders at an early stage, and quickly adopted by the local population. Gunpowder, various plants, and pos-

sibly items of clothing, whose names are of Portuguese derivation, were probably introduced in early trading contacts (see II.2.4.3 and II.2.4.5).

amáka

Hammock (in which to relax; probably recent semantic modification resulting from English influence. In other Sierra Leonean languages this is a carrying hammock).

Cf. Ptg maca, Cr maka (< Carib?). Also Te a-máka, Lim and Lo maka. Bini amoko is probably via Coast Pidgin.

ba

A unit of currency, originally a bar of copper or iron. The term is no longer used in Krio, but existed in the literature until well into the 19th century.

Cf. Ptg barra, "bar". Also Bul bâr, "a standard of money".

Mdg ba and Ko baa, both meaning "value", suggest the possibility of convergence from an indigenous form. English cant has bar, "pound", half a bar, "ten shillings".

blay

Basket type.

Cf. Ptg balaio, Cr baláy, "hamper, small basket". Also Te kə-b(ə)lây, Bul balæ. In Krio also in combinations šukú-bláy, okú-bláy, koba-bláy, etc.

kítul

A pail.

Cf. Ptg quintal, Cr kītal, "a measure of weight". Also Te a-kítul, Me kítu, Bul ketel, probably < Eng (or convergence < Eng), cf. 18th century "kittle" for a bucket. For treatment of nasals in Cr see II.2.3.1.

kópo

Money.

Cf. Ptg cobre, Cr kobre, "copper".

Also Lim kóbiri, Te a-kóper, Su

kobiri, alongside r-less forms

such as Bul kopa, Te a-kópo, "half-penny". Note that the Krio word

for "copper (metal)" is kópa, al-

though "copper-coloured" is kópo-

kola. Probably Ptg-Eng convergence;

the same distinction occurs in Sr,

kápa, "copper", kópro, "money".

ménšo

Measure; to measure.

Cf. Ptg mensura [mɛʃsura], "meas-

ure". For behaviour of nasals,

cf. kítul, supra, and II.2.3.1.

pópá

Gunpowder. More commonly gompóda.

Cf. Ptg polvora, Cr pólbra, "gun-

powder". Also Lim palapala, Bul

poba, Te a-popa.

pot

Pot, saucepan.

Cf. Ptg pote, Cr pote, "pot".

Also Te a-póthî, Krim and Lo poti.

Kr form probably English derived,
or the result of Ptg-Eng conver-
gence.

džegé

Cowry shell, early item of trade in
West Africa, used as money, decoration,
etc. Not native to West Africa; im-
ported from the Indian Ocean.

?Cf. Ptg chegadiço, "come from
abroad", and chego, "carat of
pearls". The Crioulo form is šegá.

II.2.4.2 The Slave trade

The enslavement of Africans goes back to ancient
times, and involved not only Europeans and Arabs, but
Indians and Chinese as well. But although African
slaves (purchased from the Moors) could be bought in
northern Portugal as early as 1258, the trade in West

Africa cannot be said to have really begun until the mid 15th century ⁽¹⁾. At this time, the slave population of Europe consisted of various nations, such as Canary Islanders, Gypsies and Moroccans, as well as Africans; but it was the latter who came increasingly to be identified with the growing trans-Atlantic traffic. The items discussed here are few; the journey to the slave depôts on the coast, and especially across the Atlantic to the New World, would have very early on supplied the word bíyas; the original meaning of korín (a necklace, usually of beads), appears to have been "chain shackles", still retained in Temne and Loko. Drums (cf. tambó) were one of the few items with which slaves were provided on board ship — the Europeans soon learned that without diversions such as drumming and dancing, dispirited captives often died en route.

1) For details see A. Luttrell, "Slavery and slaving in the Portuguese Atlantic", in The transatlantic slave trade from West Africa, Edinburgh (1965), pp. 61-80.

The Portuguese origin for fitíš (charm) suggests not that they introduced this item, but at least that it was in some way connected with them; it is possible that some early fitíš were specifically charms to prevent one's being taken into slavery. A Portuguese source for panyá or panyá-mán ("mulatto", or "albino with reddish complexion"), seems more likely than its being derived from English "Spaniard", although in other creoles such as those of Fernando Po and Belize the same item has the latter meaning, since the presence both of Spaniards and the Spanish language makes the term necessary. It appears to be derived from Ptg apanhar, "to seize", or apanho, "seizing", possibly via English "panyaring", slave kidnapping. Such activities were not infrequently carried out by the Afro-Portuguese because they were usually familiar with both the European and the local African languages, thus being able to act as middlemen the more effectively.

bíyas }
víyas }

Journey.

Cf. Ptg viagem, Cr bíyas, bi-
yaas. Also Te a-biyâs, Susu
biasi, Bul bias. West Somerset
dialect (EDD) has byas, "accus-
tomed place, direction, proce-
dure", probably introduced by
seamen.

fitíš

Charm, amulet, token.

Cf. Ptg feitico, Cr fitise.
Also Eng fetish or fetich, Fr
fétiche. Not located in the
local indigenous languages.

korín

Necklace, usually of amber or coral
(formerly imported from the Camer-
oons).

Cf. Ptg corrente, Cr korête,
"current; metal chain". Also
Te k-orantha, "necklace, chain",

Bul korontah, Lo koende, "a chain". The Kr form may be convergence from a Ghanaian language; Fage ⁽¹⁾ notes that the Portuguese discovered the presence of akori-beads in the 16th-17th centuries on the Gold Coast, such beads (also called aggrey) being a highly-prized item of trade.

panyá
panyá-mán }

Mulatto; an albino with a characteristically reddish complexion.

Cf. Ptg apanhar, "to seize", apanho, "seizing". This derivation, rather than Eng Spaniard or Ptg espanhol is substantiated by the different forms of these

1) Op. cit., p. 60.

two items in Cr, viz. pánya
and spánya respectively.

tambó

Type of small drum, similar to a
tambourine.

Cf. Ptg tambor, Cr tambó, "drum".

One informant suggests that the
name derives from the fact that
the head of this drum is made
from antelope hide, this animal
being called fritámbo or támbo
in Krio. Cf. also Krio tá(m)bulé,
the name of a much larger drum
(< Arabic, see V.O.4.7).

II.2.4.3 Food and plants

Several of the items listed here were actually introduced into Sierra Leone by the Portuguese (e.g. pine-apples, papaws, guavas, sweet potatoes and cassava) and not unnaturally bear Portuguese-derived names, although often adopted into Portuguese from other languages such as Carib, Tupi or Malay. The word farinya exhibits sem-

antic shift similar to that noted for komíšon (II.2. 4.5 below), being derived from Ptg farinha, "wheat flour", but being applied to dessicated cassava, also introduced by the Portuguese.

bulí

Gourd vessel attached to wine-palm, in which to catch sap.

Cf. Ptg bule, "pot, teapot",

Cr buuli, "pot with narrow opening". Also Mdg bole, boli, "calabash, basin", suggesting convergence.

farínya

Cassava flour, also called garí.

Cf. Ptg farinha, Cr farinya,

"wheat flour". Also Su farinya,

Te ε-fariya, Me fanye, etc.,

"cassava meal".

fráka }
faráka }

Gratis, esp. with reference to food.

Cf. Ptg franco/franca, Cr frāka,

"free". For loss of nasalization
and intrusive vowel, see II.2.3.1.

gwebá }
gwavá }

Guava, *psidium guajava*.

Cf. Ptg gaiaba, goiaba, Cr goyéba,

"guava" (< Tupi). Also Te a-koy-

aba, Me goyava, Bul gwava.

nanás

Pineapple. This item is more widely
employed in non-Creole Krio, the Cre-
oles preferring paynápul or ápul.

Cf. Ptg ananas, Cr nanás, "pine-
apple" (< Tupi-Guaraní naná).

Also Te a-nanâs, Me něsi, neési,

Bul nes, Lim nanás.

petéte

Sweet potato (the European variety is
called áyriš-petéte, "Irish potato").

Cf. Ptg batata, Sp patata, "sweet
potato" (< Tupi or Carib). A Ptg
origin is preferred because not
only was the item introduced into

Sierra Leone by the Portuguese,
but the phonological shift to
Krio petéte involves just two
modifications (p:b and e:a)
rather than the ^{three} ~~two~~ from Eng
[pə'tetɪtəw] or [pə'tetɪtəw] —
although influence from English
may account for the initial /p/.
CP has potéto ~ potétu.

popó

Papaw, papaiya (carica papaya).

Cf. Ptg papaia, Cr papaya, "pa-
paw" (< Carib). Also Te d-pap-
all, Lo paibai, Lim papala. The
Kr form "papaw" or "pawpaw" be-
gan to supplant Eng "papaiya"
during the 17th century, and was
probably introduced by sailors.

yóka

Cassava, manihot esculenta. The word
kasáda is more frequently used in Krio.

Cf. Ptg yucca (< Guaraní oka).

Also Te a-yókâ, Su yoka, Bul yek,
yoca, Ko yokaa. The quality of
the vowel in the Kr form suggests
that the immediate source may be
(American) English yucca ['jʌkə]
than Portuguese ['juke].

II.2.4.4 People and places

As the first Europeans to settle in the area, the Portuguese were instrumental in establishing not only the name of the country, but the names of various groups associated with the area (Creoles, mulattoes, panyaring men, etc), and the name by which all Europeans came to be known, regardless of national origin, viz. "Portuguese".

kriyó'

Creole; a colony-born resident of
non-local ethnic descent — although
as more and more indigenes "creolize"
this criterion is no longer true. For
an alternative origin for this item,
see III.1.4.8.

Cf. Ptg crioulo, Cr kriol. For the very many forms and interpretations of this item, consult Valkhoff (1966), pp. 38-47, in which the earliest recorded Ptg forms were applied to "a half-breed in the Congo" (crioulo, 1632), and "a black man born in Brazil" (criolo, 1643).

maláta

Mulatto, African and European cross (also af-en-áf, krös-brídž, in Krio).

Cf. Ptg mulato, mulata, probably ult. Arabic ملوك, muwallad, "foreigner", "one foreign-born", and referring to the Ptg/Sp-Moorish half-breeds in Spain and Portugal. Also Te u-mulânth, "albino" (cf. the two interpretations for Krio panyá, below), Bul mulat, Me maláte, maláta, "mulatto, mongrel".

panyá
panyá-mán }

See this item under II.2.4.2.

pikín

1) Child; the young of any living thing.

2) The smaller of two items which normally occur together.

Cf. Ptg pequenho, "small", pequenininho, "tiny", Cr pikéne, "small" (possibly with influence from Carib pikayun, "small, insignificant", cf. Fr picune).

Also Sr pikín [pɛfí], Trinidad, Tobago pikni, JC pikni, pikini, NeoMel and CCP pikinini, "small", and Eng (esp U.S.) "picaninny"⁽¹⁾.

- 1) Hotten (1864), p. 200, states: "Picaninny...a young child is thus styled by the West Indian ^{Picaninny} negroes. The word is now completely naturalized among sailors and waterside people in England".

podogí

Portuguese, although nowadays nearly always in the combination Podogí Ton (a district in Freetown), rather than referring to a Portuguese national.

Cf. Ptg português, Cr purtugez.

Probably via English, where the final -s is assumed to be a plural marker and dropped; cf. "Chinee", "Japanee". Bullom has potogi, "Portuguese".

póto }
mopóto }

European.

Cf. Ptg português, Cr purtugez.

Also Te u-potho, Lim purotho, Krim potu, all meaning "European". The Krio-speaking settlers on Fernando Po are known as Porto's.

salón }
saraliyón }
saró }

Sierra Leone (never *siyeraliyón).

Various early forms of the name include Serra Lyon, Serra Lyonne, Serre-Lions, Sierraleon, Serillioon, Sierra Leona, Serra Lyõa and Serra-leona, all meaning "lion mountain", an allusion to the lion-like roaring of the thunder in the Peninsula mountains. Me has sálóun, "Free-town". Kr saró is the Yoruba (Oku) form.

sendžágo

sendžágo-gyál

} Loose woman, prostitute.

Cf. Ptg Santiago, "St. Jago", a Portuguese slaving-station off Cape Verde.

sentomí

São Tomé, St. Thomas Island in the Gulf of Guinea, from which Europeans brought mangoes, guinea-grass, cinnamon and some species of banana to Sierra Leone, and

to which Creoles went seeking employment in the late 19th century.

Cf. Ptg São Tomé, St. Thomas

Island. Bul has santumirr, "banana".

II.2.4.5 Clothing and adornment

Of the three items listed here, two have undergone semantic shift in Krio (kómíšən, korín), and the other may prove if not to be an indigenous term, then possibly the result of convergence (sampatá). Krio kómíšən occurs alongside variant forms of Ptg camisa in several of the local languages, and is paralleled by Sranan and Saramaccan kamisa. In the local languages the original sense of "shirt" or "robe" has been preserved, while in Krio and Sranan/Saramaccan a shift of meaning to "loincloth" has taken place. This fact, plus the anglicization of the word in Krio, may reflect the conscious "Europeanness" of Creoles on the one hand, and the association of the garment with non-Creole dress on the other. A further

possibility is that the term "commission" was a legitimate adoption from English (1);

"As from our beds, we doe oft cast our eyes,
Cleane linnen yeelds a shirt before we rise,
Which is a garment shifting in condition;
And in the canting tongue is a commission.
In weale or woe, in joy or dangerous drifts, (2)
A shirt will put a man unto his shifts".

komíšon

A loincloth.

Cf. Ptg camisa, Cr kamiza,

kamīza, "shirt, robe". The

item occurs widely in the indigenous languages of the area, and may have entered via Arabic قَمِيْصِيّ , qamiisaḍ, itself adopted from a Romance language

- 1) Which itself may have been a nautical folk-etymologizing of the Ptg form.
- 2) Taylor's Works, (1630), reprinted in Hotten, op. cit., p. 107. The item has also been discussed by Jones, (1959), p. 295.

at an earlier period. Mdg
kamisa, Te k-ambisa (?), Me
kamisa (?).

korín

Bead necklace (See II.2.4.2).

The Kr form is also current
in Ghanaian and Nigerian PE.

sampatá

Sandal type.

Cf. Ptg sapata, "sort of boot
without tops", sapato, "shoe".

The word may be a Romance ad-
option from Arabic سَبَّاط, sa-
bbaat (cf. Fr sabot, etc.),
which language may have given
Mdg sabara, sabata, sambata,
Te a-sampâth. Also widespread
in the New World creoles: JC
sampata, Trinidad sampat, Mar-
tinique capat, Sara saapátu,
Sr páta, etc.

II.2.4.6 Human anatomy and attributes

With the possible exception of fayn/fɛn and fos, which in Krio at least are probably English-derived, none of the items listed here occurs in the indigenous languages, and may be attributable to the early nautical pidgin. In the case of fayn/fɛn, although phonologically identifiable with English "fine", the semantic range of the item is identical with that of Temne fíno, and may represent "re-phonologizing" in the direction of English.

fayn }
fɛn }

Good, well, nice, pleasing, attractive, etc.

Cf. Ptg fino. Also Te fíno,

Sr fíni, Sara fínu.

flɛkɛfléke

Weak, feeble, unresisting, limp.

Cf. Ptg flaco/fraco, flaca/fraca, "weak, flaccid, feeble".

Possibly an early nautical pidgin term, cf. Sabir flaku with same meaning.

fos

To force, compel; force, power.

Cf. Ptg força, Cr forsa. Also
Te a-foso, Eng force. Possible
convergence, or anglicization
of an earlier form.

kaká

Excrement; to defecate.

Cf. Ptg caca, Cr kaka, koko.
Widespread in all French and
English-derived Atlantic cre-
oles; also Eng cack, Du kak,
Fr caca, Italian and Maltese
caccà, etc. Only similar in-
digenous form is Mende kā,
"dirt, refuse".

lebelébe

Light, flexible, supple.

Cf. Ptg leve, Cr lebe, "light".
Also Kikongo lébelébe, "supple",
CP lebelebe/lebelebe, "light,
flexible".

plába

To quarrel; contention, fuss.

Cf. Ptg palavra, "word". Also
Eng palaver, CP palába, "fuss",
JC plába, "a mix-up, quarrel",
Gullah plá:brin, "engage in
flirtatious talk".

sabí

To know, be acquainted with, know
how to do something well (this last
is paralleled in NeoMel, see Hall
(1957), p. 157).

Cf. Ptg saber, Cr sabe. Also
Sr sa, sábi, Sara sá, Gu, JC,
CP sábi, CCP, NeoMel sávi. In
Eng the word has become natur-
alized to mean "to understand;
knowhow". Krio has sabísabí,
"knowledgeable, shrewd".

II.2.4.7 Insects

While the two items discussed in this category are
represented in Portuguese, they also occur in several

English-derived Caribbean creoles, and probably owe their presence there to Spanish. Since neither occurs in the local indigenous languages or in CP, it is likely that they were introduced with the Jamaican Maroons.

santapí

Centipede, cheilopoda myriapoda.

Cf. Ptg centopeia, Eng centipede. Also JC, Guy, etc.

sántapi, Gu sénəpi.

tšintš

Bedbug, cimex lectularius.

Cf. Ptg and Sp chinche, "a bug". Also JC, North American (formerly also British).

II.2.4.8 Grammatical

Both the items discussed here appear to be of Ptg ^{the} origin rather than English (or for sóso, Yoruba) origin suggested by earlier scholars ⁽¹⁾, especially since re-

1) Cassidy and Le Page (1967), and Schneider (1960).

lated forms occur in Crioulo with the same meaning, while the postulated Eng etymologies differ phonologically and semantically. Their widespread occurrence in most African and Caribbean creoles suggests that they are a survival from the early Portuguese pidgin.

sóso

Just, only, nothing but: na sóso
pikín bin de na da' patí, "there
was nothing but children at that
party".

Cf. Ptg and Cr só, "only",
"alone". Eng so has a different semantic application, and SY šōšō, "only" only occurs after the numeral one (okā) in that language, besides differing phonologically. Also Sr and Djuka sóso, Sara sóso, CP, JC, Guy, Gu sóso.

té
teté
soté }

Until.

Cf: Ptg até, Cr te, "until".

Also Papiamentu, Dutch Creole

and Sr te, Sara téé, CP, Guy

and JC soté (Eng "so" + te).

Possible convergence from Eng

"till", "'til", suggested by

earlier writers, attested by

Guy Cr alternative form sotíl.

See also III.5.2.3.

II.3.0.0 FRENCH

Some French historians claim that the French visited the Sierra Leone region in 1366, nearly a century before the Portuguese, but this has not been substantiated ⁽¹⁾.

II.3.0.1 Until the 18th century, the French were not commercially involved in West Africa to the extent of posing a threat to the other European nations. Their slave trade, operating out of the Senegal River, Goree and St. Louis regions, was small compared with that of the English or Portuguese, and eventually shifted far south to the Congo and Angola, as well as to the Grain and Ivory Coasts of Lower Guinea ⁽²⁾.

II.3.0.2 Exploration was carried out by the French as far inland as the limits of the Arab penetration from the east; but inland trade was unsuccessful in the face

1) Butt-Thompson (1952), p. 4.

2) Fage (1969), p. 72.

of competition from the established Manding and Fula merchants.

II.3.0.3 In 1785, two years before the establishment of the Freetown Settlement, a Temne chief at Robana granted a French officer some land on Gambia Island for the purpose of building a garrison. This proved unsuccessful however, and after a few years sickness and the inequitable climate caused the post to be abandoned.

II.3.0.4 In 1794, a serious repercussion from the Franco-British War in Europe was felt in West Africa, when a French fleet manned by the "Sansculottes" completely sacked Freetown in a three-week sortie, plundering it and leaving it razed to the ground (1).
Considerable perseverance on the part of the inhabitants

1) Butt-Thompson, op. cit., p. 20.

saw reconstruction begun immediately.

II.3.0.5 While French trade on the coast outside of Senegal was practically non-existent by the late 1800's, a considerable foothold had been gained inland. Already trade in the Gambia had been severely limited by French activity in Senegal, and their penetration into Guinea, which began in the 1860's, was similarly threatening to disrupt Sierra Leonean trade. Because of this, the hinterland of the Colony was taken under British protection, after a series of treaties with local (mainly Mende) chiefs, on August 31st, 1896 ⁽¹⁾.

II.3.1.0 There are at least three possible sources for the French-derived content of Krio: French itself, Pidgin French or Pitinègue (Petit Nègre), and French lexical adoptions into indigenous languages such as Susu and Maninka which have passed into Krio.

II.3.1.1 Metropolitan French came into contact with what is

1) Little (1951), pp. 45-46.

now Krio during the years prior to the establishment of the Freetown Settlement, when traders and sailors visited or stayed in the area. It is also taught in Sierra Leonean schools, and is heard on radio broadcasts received in Sierra Leone from francophone West Africa.

II.3.1.2 Pidgin French is spoken in all coastal French-speaking countries in West Africa, and speakers may easily be found in Freetown ⁽¹⁾. "Coast French" vocabulary, as col-

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- 1) Very little literature is available for Pitinègue; in colonial times the French government was violently opposed to its use, and has even been known to deny its existence (but see Hancock in Westermann and Bryan (1970), p. 263). The Guinea variety is currently being studied by John Weiner at Georgetown University. Examples of this, collected by the writer from Guinean informants resident in Sierra Leone, include u ti va?, "where are you going", mwa komprá pa frāsé, "I do not understand French, and mwa se pati a sam, "I am going home". Examples of the variety spoken in the Ivory Coast, where it is known as frāsé de šarabía, include mwa patí mezõ, "I am going home", mwa va patí apré la mezõ, "I will be

lected by Mauny (1952), contains both Pitinègue and locally-modified metropolitan French elements.

II.3.1.3 French items which have been adopted into the indigenous languages of Guinea and Senegal are numerous, although surprisingly for Susu at least "les mots d'emprunt sont surtout d'origine anglaise ⁽¹⁾". There seems to be little evidence of such items having passed into indigenous

going home", mwa patí déza a la mezõ, "I went home", lwi zolí or lwi e zolí, "she is pretty", lwi zolí myø k el, "she is prettier than her", i gāyé zolí figí, "she has a nice face", mõ mezõ or mezõ pur mwa, "my house", and yenapá di ri, "there is no rice (left)".

- 1) Houis (1963), p. 9. He adds: "...leur usage est encore en vigueur dans le Rio Pongo où l'influence des missions protestantes fut prédominante au cours du XIX^e siècle". The further possibility exists that at least some of the English-derived items in Susu and languages further north are attributable to the early coastal Pidgin English, as well as to more recent missionaries.

Sierra Leonean languages, let alone Krio, and it may be safe to rule out this route as a source of French-derived items in Krio.

II.3.1.4 Creole French speaking inhabitants of Freetown (from the West Indies) do not seem to have been present in sufficient numbers to have made much linguistic impact; nevertheless the Dominican and Trinidadian-born colonists may have introduced džasapán (dipper) and — less likely — lažô (money). A further remote possibility exists that these, and perhaps others, were brought back to Freetown by those Creoles amongst the 13,000 West Africans who went to the Caribbean as part of a free labour force between 1838 and 1865 ⁽¹⁾, and who eventually returned home.

II.3.2.0 The French-derived items

No regular pattern emerges from the small number of items of demonstrable French origin. Three are concerned

1) Cruickshank (1916), p. 4.

with clothing, although two of these have been recorded in English, and the third may only tentatively be linked with the name of a Caribbean bird:

biré

Beret.

Cf. Fr beret. The Krio pronunciation is closer to French or American English [bə're] than British ['beri].

kiskidí-en-pompodó

Hoop-framed skirt, as worn during the 19th century.

Cf. Fr qu'est-ce qu'il dit?, "what does he say?" + (Madame) Pompadour, a lady whose name has become synonymous with extravagant fashion. In Guyana and Jamaica kiskidi and kisadi respectively are the names given to a species of black

bird, probably because of its
cry, the link with the Krio
meaning being a fancied resemblance between the dress and
the bird's plumage.

pantúf

Canvas-topped slippers with fibre
soles.

Cf. Fr pantouffle, "slipper".

Also Haitian and Mauritian Cr

Fr pantúf, English pantofle

(Halliwell, 1855).

II.3.2.1 Names of persons include general appellations
such as kamarád and kostó, and Christian names which, although French-inspired, seem to have been acquired from
the written form, as reflected in their spelling-pronunciation:

gaskóni

Cf. Fr Gascoigne.

gavás

Cf. Fr Gervais.

Other names pronounced according to their spelling may be

listed, such as banáysi ("Bernice") and yunáysi ("Eunice"), although these also occur in English (see II.1.8.4).

kamarád
kamaránk }

Friend, companion, peer.

Cf. Fr camarade, "comrade".

The variant form kamaránk may reflect a blend with Eng rank (and have originated as Army slang?).

kostó

A big, tough, brawny fellow.

Cf. Fr costaud, "burly, brawny; a brawny man" (< Romani koštó, "strong").

II.3.2.2 Exhortations

alé

Clear off!, to dogs, etc.

Cf. Fr allez!, "go (away)!".

ánko

To repeat, e.g. a favourite record at a party: ánko ram, "play it again".

Cf. Fr encore, "again", whence

Eng encore, "please do it again".

The phonological form of Krio

ánko suggests French as the immediate source; the English form would more probably have yielded *ónko.

II.3.2.3 Perhaps the most commonly-occurring item of French derivation in Krio is bokú, "plentiful", and its reduplicated form bokúbokú, "extremely plentiful", < Fr beaucoup, "much, many". This item also exists as a verb in Krio, with the meaning "to be processed to the extent of ruin, to be overdone", e.g. di res don bokú, "the rice is overcooked", di ašo don bokú, "the clothes are irrecoverable (either too dirty to ever be properly cleaned again, or have disintegrated in the wash, etc.)". CP and Liberian English have buku, "plentiful".

II.3.2.4 Two items which may be of Antilles Cr Fr origin are džasapán and lažó, although the latter also occurs in Pitinègue in different phonological form:

džasapán

Water-dipper, scoop, bailer.

Cf. Antilles Cr Fr chasse-
pagne, "pot with handle"
(< Eng saucepan). This
item does not occur in
metropolitan French.

lažó

Money. This is a slang term,
and may have arrived from neigh-
bouring Guinea.

Cf. Fr l'argent, "the mon-
ey". Also Haitian Cr Fr
lažá, Pitinègue lažã, ladžã.

II.3.2.5 In addition to lažó, which may have gained cur-
rency amongst smugglers along the Guinean border, the term
bombón may have been similarly introduced:

bombón

Bribery, perquisites.

Cf. Fr bon, "good", bonbon,
"candy, tidbit" (as a euph-
emism?).

II.3.2.6 An ideophone of (possible) Pitinègue origin occurs in Krio, which may be compared with the apparently related form in Temne which appears to be derived from metropolitan French:

pítípítí }
pétépété }

Little by little, especially of liquids, etc., leaking or spilling out: di watá de komót pítípítí, "the water is trickling out".

Cf. Fr petit-petit, Pitinègue pitipiti, paralleled by PE "small-small", i.e. "a little".

Te has pethi-pethi with the same meaning.

II.3.2.7 A French-influenced maxim exists in Krio, seemingly recently coined, probably by students: man nó de mǎžé ef i nó de travayé, "man doesn't eat if he doesn't work". The two French items have the following forms:

mǎžé }
mundžé }
mudžé }

To eat.

Cf. Fr manger, "to eat".

travayé }
travadzé }

To work.

Cf. Fr travailler, "to work".

II.3.2.8 A Krio folk-etymologizing is apparent in the greeting and response derived from French ça va bien?, i.e. "are things going well?". This is consciously taken to be Krio sawa biyén, "sour behind", to which the answer swit bifó, "sweet in front", is given.

II.4.0.0 INFLUENCE FROM THE CLASSICAL LANGUAGES

Creoles may occasionally employ classicisms in much the same way as English speakers will French words and phrases; i.e. as a real or fancied mark of education and class.

II.4.0.1 This assertion of their westernization probably began in the 19th century, during the period when Freetown was known as the "Athens of West Africa" and Creoles could learn not only Latin and Greek, but even Hebrew, at Fourah Bay College.

II.4.1.0 Such expressions as have survived to the present day include:

lábsos

A slip of the tongue.

Cf. Latin lapsus linguae, "a slip of the tongue".

οypολόγ

Rabble, the common herd.

Cf. Greek οἱ πολλοί [hoi polloi],
"the ^{many} ~~common people~~".

II.4.1.1 In more recent times, mock-Latin forms such as the following have been coined, probably by schoolboys:

bitás et bolóbos

For bitás en bologí, i.e. "bit-
terleaf and bologí (a vegetable)",

Eng bitters + SY gbologí.

fátyos-bómpyos

For fatí-bompí, "a plump person",

Eng fatty-bumpy.

Also reflecting Latin grammar is the expression komon-džénda,
"common gender", a play on, and meaning, "common knowledge":

Olú de maréd? E bo, na komon-džénda!, "Olu's getting married?
come on pal, that's common knowledge".

II.4.1.2 At least two Latin plant-names occur in Krio, both
folk-etymologized, one before its adoption into Krio:

aligéta-pepe

Pepper sp., Guinea grains,
grains of paradise.

Cf. Latin Aframomum mele-
guetta, hence Coast English
"Alligator pepper".

sopóta
mamí-sopóta }

A papaw-like fruit, mammea
americana.

The name is Jamaican in

origin, but refers there to the tree calocarpum mammosum, one of the Sapotaceæ (DJE). The Krio plant is called mamee tree in JC, and sopotí in Gambian Aku.

teví

Marijuana.

?Cf. Latin cannabis sativa, "Indian hemp". In Me teví is the name of a "medicine".

II.4.1.3 The Latin name of a bacterium has become abbreviated in Krio, and is obviously of medical (possibly military) origin:

džisí

Gonorrhea.

Cf. Latin gynococcus, "G.C.".

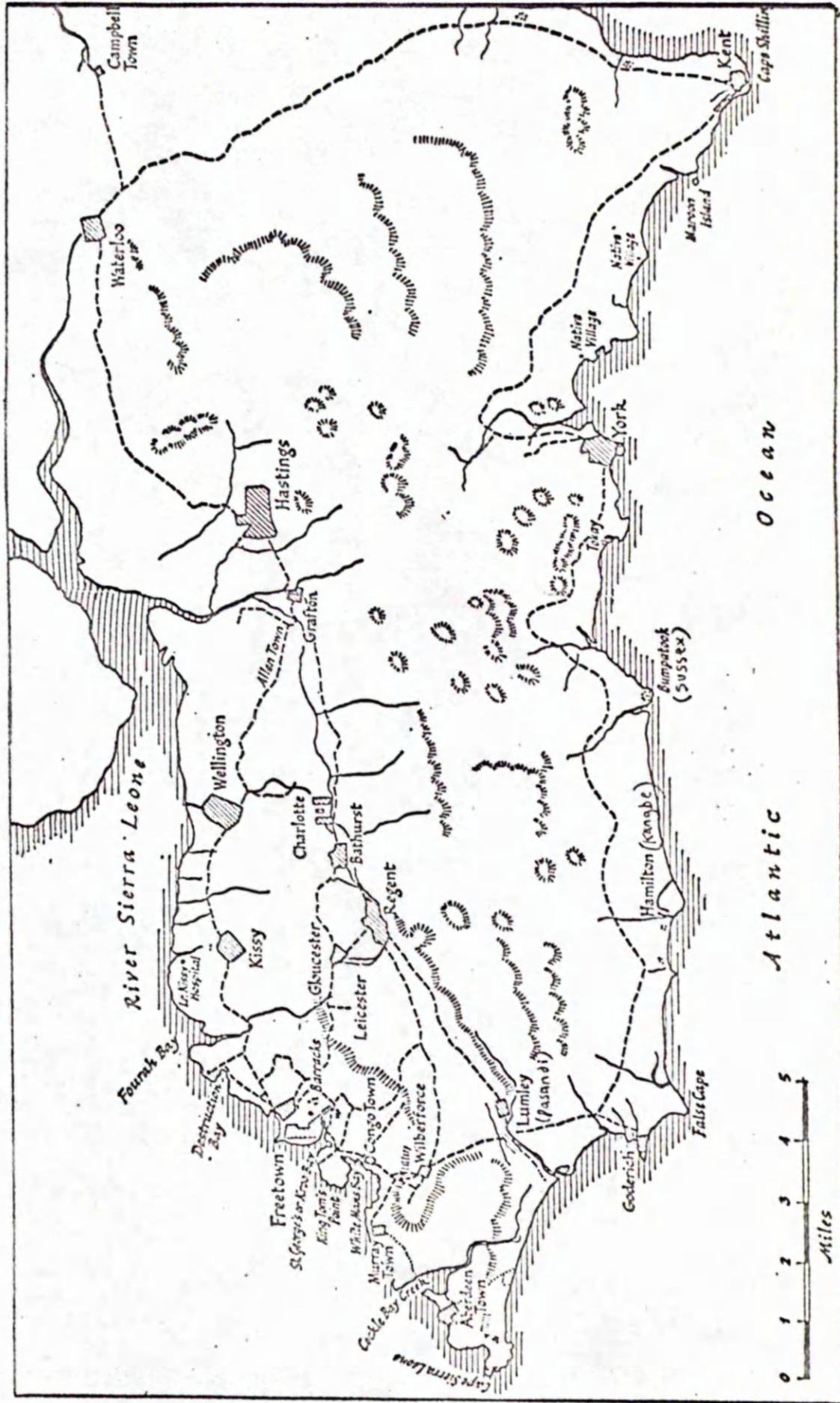
III.0.0.0 NON-LOCAL LANGUAGES

The first shipload of Liberated Africans arrived in Freetown in 1808, the year of Lieutenant Colonel C.W. Maxwell's appointment as governor of the Colony.

III.0.0.1 It was Maxwell's policy to populate the villages which were being established at that time ⁽¹⁾ with people originally from the same country; thus during the first seven years Recaptives from the same tribe were able to locate each other, and re-establish their linguistic and tribal communities within the Colony. With the constant influx of new Recaptives, the languages were able to survive because

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- 1) The villages were established in the following years: Leicester 1809, Regent 1812, Wilberforce 1812 (reorganized in 1818), Gloucester 1816, Leopold and Kissy 1817, Charlotte, Bathurst and York 1818, Kent, Waterloo, Hastings and Wellington 1819, Allen Town, Calmont and Grassfields 1827, and Murray Town 1829 (from Luke (1939), p. 54. See figure 6 for the location of these. To-day the Peninsula villages are inhabited mostly by indigenous Sierra Leoneans.

Figure 6 : The principal villages in the
Sierra Leone Peninsula CA. 1850



(From Peterson [1969], pp. 192-193).

of Maxwell's policy, in a way unparalleled in any other situation (1).

III.0.0.2 The situation changed, however, when Maxwell was succeeded by Sir Charles McCarthy in 1815. It was McCarthy's resolution to settle Recaptives in the villages regardless of tribal background, so that people whose homes were as much as 2,000 miles apart found themselves as neighbours (2).

III.0.0.3 While this hastened the acquisition of Krio, it aggravated tribal animosities (see III.3.0.0 and III.5.0.2), which lasted into the 20th century.

1) In the Americas it was the general policy to separate members of the same linguistic group (see Hancock (1969), p. 20). Thus large-scale African language retention did not occur in America or the Caribbean, although one or two survived as cult languages (see III.5.0.2). The fact that Freetown was a non-slave society in Africa, rather than a slave society outside Africa such as Cuba or Guyana, also contributed to this situation.

2) See Fyfe (1962), p. 138.

III.0.0.4 If Krio was being adopted by all incoming groups, it did not replace the Recaptives' languages on a large scale until the latter half of the 19th century, after the last Liberated African had arrived (in 1854). Fyfe notes ⁽¹⁾ that by this time a new kind of colonist was growing up, which although they had never seen their ancestral homelands nevertheless retained their parents' languages and customs, and social organizations. It was during this period too that ethnicity was asserted in the form of associations; many of the groups within the Colony such as the Aku, Igbo, Egba, etc. formed companies which created in-group loyalties often unknown in the original homelands. Most of these had disappeared by the end of the century, because of the obsolescence of the languages and the desire for Creolization (see IV.0.3.0).

III.0.1.0 Not all the Africans liberated at sea were landed at Freetown; three-quarters of the recorded total were brought here prior to ca. 1840, but since that date only half, the

1) Op. cit., p. 292

rest being taken to the West Indies instead ⁽¹⁾. Some were also taken to Fernando Po, but this settlement was not successful (see I.1.4.0).

III.0.2.0 In 1854, Koelle recorded 160 languages spoken in the Colony. In 1899 it was reported that "...more than fifty other languages are said to be spoken in Freetown ⁽²⁾", while a quarter-century later Luke reported that "about sixty African languages can be heard in [Freetown's] streets ⁽³⁾". To-day perhaps half that number is represented, consisting mainly of the languages of non-local immigrant groups such as the Hausa, Ghanaian fishermen, etc., and local tribes.

III.0.2.1 The most striking fact is that from this complex

1) Curtin and Vansina (1964), p. 186.

2) According to the (unknown) author of The missions of the Church Missionary Society: The Sierra Leone mission, C.M.S. London (1899), p. 14.

3) H.C. Luke, A bibliography of Sierra Leone, preceded by an essay on the origin, character and peoples of the Colony and Protectorate, New York (1925), p. 33.

linguistic situation very few African languages have contributed to the lexicon of Krio. This is due to several factors, and has been paralleled elsewhere (1).

III.0.2.2 According to the 1848 Census (see III.0.7.0), only three of the 20 groups listed in Freetown (viz. Yoruba, Igbo and Dahomean) had over 700 representatives (2), Yoruba leading the way with over five times the number of the next largest group: 7,114 Yoruba, 1,231 Igbo.

III.0.3.0 With the exception of Yoruba, there appears to be little connection between numbers of speakers of a particular language and the amount of lexical influence from that language upon Krio. Less than five items from Igbo, for example, have been located in Krio — although for this lang-

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- 1) E.g. the preponderance of Twi-derived items in Jamaican Creole, Kikongo and Ewe in Haïtien, Mende and Vai in Gullah, etc.
 - 2) And some of these groups, such as the so-called Moko, comprised people from a similar geographical area but speaking a variety of different languages.

uage in particular other factors are involved (see III.2.0.0). It would seem that speakers of numerically small languages identified with larger groups, at least outside the home, and spoke their languages; thus for example one might imagine Bini-speaking Recaptives using Yoruba, or Adangme using Gã or Twi, in much the same way as Limba find Temne more useful in Freetown to-day than their own tongue. A Bini or Adangme word used in a Krio sentence would have had very restricted intelligibility, and would as a result have soon been discarded, unlike items from Yoruba, Mende or Temne.

III.0.3.1 Because ^{some} languages have not been allotted a chapter in the present thesis, this does not imply that items from such languages do not occur in Krio; while items of Ijaw or Nupe derivation for example may exist, none has been located in the corpus of material upon which this study is based. For some others, such as some Kru languages for example, lack of both informants and adequate dictionaries has obviated in-depth study. It is unlikely, however, that this shortcom-

ing has radically altered the conclusions drawn here.

III.0.4.0 As each group acquired Krio, terms from their own languages — or the languages used publicly — would have been employed for concepts peculiar to themselves or their African cultures, as well as to compensate for their deficiencies in the language they were still in the process of learning. It would have been during this period that the second period of supralexification would have been in effect (see I.2.4.4), and calquing would have taken place.

III.0.4.1 Some groups appear to have had more prestige than others (see III.1.4.0). The Yoruba and their descendants, for example, not only constituted the majority of the Recap-tive population, but had the most powerful secret societies, the most influential social organizations, and maintained the strongest ties with their ancestral homeland ⁽¹⁾, and it

1) See Fyfe (op. cit.), pp. 292-293, and III.1.0.2.

may be assumed that it is because of this, as well as their numerical representation, that they have contributed more to Creole culture than any other African group ⁽¹⁾.

III.0.5.0 Smaller languages have usually provided Krio with items relating specifically to the activities for which their speakers are best known, e.g. fishing terms from Ghanaian languages, cattle and dairy terms from Hausa and Fula, Islamic terms from Arabic (via Manding, etc.), and so on. However, an outstanding characteristic of the vocabulary adopted from these sources is the high proportion of vulgarisms, espec-

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- 1) Discussing the high incidence of Ewe-derived items in Saramaccan, Reinecke (1937), p. 438, states that "despite the multiplicity of tribes from which the slaves were drawn, the Ewe-speaking Africans possessed some special advantage either of numbers, of culture or of prestige which caused their tongue to be drawn upon rather heavily. (Compare the prestige of the Nagô or Yoruba language among the Brazilian Negroes)".

ially sexual terms, and items connected with disease, character deficiencies, etc. This reflects both the Creoles' attitude toward the indigenous Africans, in nearly every case thought to be socially and culturally inferior, and their Victorian attitudes to life, and the resulting extensive use of euphemisms (see II.1.7.3a) on the one hand, and the desire on the part of urbanized/Creolized indigenous Africans to copy these qualities on the other (see IV.0.3.0).

III.0.5.1 The African-derived items discussed in this and the following section tend to give a false impression of their significance in Krio, in that they reflect their numerical proportion as found in the total available lexicon (which includes items from every source, including English), rather than that in actual speech. Recorded conversations, for example, or folk-tales, can be shown to have only 0% - 5% non-European-derived vocabulary, and in nearly every case where African items do occur, they are semantically restricted (cf. the recurrence of the same basic categories in the chapters dealt with below: food, personality, anatomy, etc.).

III.0.6.0 With improved communications in the 20th century, Creoles are under far more direct influence from English than ever before, and while Africanisms are still being incorporated into Krio, usually from local languages (but cf. III.1.4.0) the tendency is not only for this process to decrease, but for existing African-derived items to become less and less used, and for the English-derived content of the language to decreolize in the direction of metropolitan English.

III.0.7.0 The Sierra Leone Census

In 1848 under the direction of Governor Benjamin Pine, a census was taken listing the tribes of origin of the Recaptives and their descendants, and the numbers of each. The census, however, was completed only for the Freetown area, containing less than half the total population of the Colony. From Pine's report ⁽¹⁾ the following figures were obtained:

1) B. Pine, Annual report for Sierra Leone, (1848), reproduced in Curtin and Vansina (op. cit.), pp. 207-208.

<u>Groups</u>	<u>Numbers</u>
Akoos (Yoruba)	7114
Eboos (Igbo)	1231
Paupahs (Dahomean)	1075
Calabahs (Efik and Ibibio)	319
Kakanjas (Nupe, etc.)	163
Mokos (Cameroons)	470
Binnees (Benin, etc.)	107
Congos (Bakongo, etc.)	421
Hausas	657
Kromantees (Ghana)	168
Mandingos	188
Sherbros	38
Timnehs (Temne)	5
Foulahs (Futa Jallon and Nigeria?)	14
Soosoos (Susu)	51
Koosoos (Mende, etc.)	609
Jolofs (Wolof)	16
Mozambiques (East Africa)	18
Bassas (Liberia)	60
Other small tribes	549

III.0.7.1 In 1848 the population of Freetown was ca. 45,000.

Of these 20,619 were Liberated Africans born outside, and 19,624 — almost the same number — were Colony-born of Recaptive parents. The balance was comprised of other groups including local indigenous tribespeople, Europeans, etc.

III.1.0.0 YORUBA

Numbering some ten millions ⁽¹⁾, the Yoruba to-day inhabit a large area of south-western Nigeria, and parts of Dahomey and Togo. There are about twenty distinct dialects of the language, in general identified with the sub-tribes which speak them. These include Oyo, Idžeša, Idžebu, Ila, Owo, Ekiti, Ondo, Egba, the Ilorin, Benin and Kabba dialect groups, Šekiri, Igala ⁽²⁾ and the mixed dialect spoken in the city of Lagos. Speakers of Yoruba usually refer to themselves and their speech by the name of their sub-tribe; the name Yoruba was not widely employed in Nigeria in earlier times, though Clarke ⁽³⁾ includes Yarribeans as one of the names

1) Rowlands (1969), p. 1. Compare Westermann and Bryan's figure of three and a half million.

2) Westermann and Bryan (1970), p. 85.

3) Clarke (1843), p. 147. Both this term, and Eyees, were given as being more prevalent than the third alternative Akoo, which was also

used for the Yoruba in the Colony in the 1840's.

III.1.0.1 During much of the nineteenth century the Yoruba states were involved in sporadic outbreaks of tribal war, a state of affairs which eventually resulted in their annexation by the British in 1888 ⁽¹⁾ and which played a major part in the shipping of large numbers of captives into slavery and their eventual arrival in Freetown as "Liberated Africans".

III.1.0.2 Yoruba life centred largely around their townships, which were closely-knit complexes of farming communities; fully fifty percent of all Yorubas lived in towns ⁽²⁾, and ten of the eleven largest towns in Nigeria are to-day inhabited by

used at that time. Cruickshank (1916) records both Yariba and Oku as having been used in Guyana; Modern Krio has Yórubá, Akú, Okú or Nagó, this last also occurring in Brazil, Cuba, Haïti and Trinidad.

1) See Fage (1969), p. 171.

2) See Legum (1969), p. 305.

the Yoruba ⁽¹⁾. Their propensity for urban rather than rural life, along with their great numerical representation, was no doubt a contributing factor to their being able to maintain their cultural unity in Freetown. By the mid nineteenth century, the Yoruba and their descendants constituted about one third of the entire population of the Colony ⁽²⁾. They lived — as their descendants largely still do — around Fourah Bay in East Freetown, along Fourah Bay Road as far as the Kissy Road intersection and along Mountain Cut into Fulah Town, and in the western part of the city in Portuguese Town,

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- 1) See Burns (1942), p. 41. Some idea of the size of these towns may be gauged from the walled city of Ibadan which in the mid nineteenth century had a circumference of 23 miles and a population estimated to be as high as 150,000, according to Peterson (1969), p. 169.
- 2) According to Curtin and Vansina (1964), p. 207. The natural rate of population-growth was retarded somewhat by the resettlement in Nigeria.

Congo Town, and along Pademba and Circular Roads ⁽¹⁾. They were for the most part either Muslims, which faith was largely confined to the poor in the Western Province ⁽²⁾, or worshipped such deities as Shango, Oduduwa or various other personal orisha or "gods". In 1830 the lieutenant governor of the Colony, Alexander Findlay, prohibited by law sacrificing to idols — an integral part of orisha worship — which created considerable unrest amongst the Yoruba community, and conflict resulting in the loss of many lives and the return of large numbers of individuals to Nigeria. Between 1839 and 1842 for example several hundred Yorubas left

1) Peterson (1969), pp. 253 - 254.

2) Legum (1969), p. 306. The Fourah Bay Oku even maintained their own ship, the "Maria", which plied between Freetown and Badagry during the 1840's (Peterson, op. cit., p. 219).

Freetown to settle in Abeokuta, Nigeria (1).

Orisha worship fared less well than did Islam, and although there is still some evidence of the traditional cult having been preserved among Creoles of Yoruba descent, it appears to have been considerably modified, bearing little resemblance nowadays to its modern Nigerian counterpart. In some instances earlier orisha cult worship has stimulated the growth of semi-secret societies, similar in some respects to the Ode or Hunting Society.

III.1.0.3 There are many semi-secret organizations in Freetown and the Peninsula villages, although the Hunting Society is the largest and most powerful. The most well known of these organizations are of Yoruba origin, in some cases being very free adaptations of the source cults, having grown out of the at one time illegal orisha worship as mentioned above. In addition to the Hunting Society,

1) Fage (1969), p. 129.

there are the Odže, Geledé, Egúgú, etc. societies, each with its own masqueraders and each drawing to a greater or lesser extent upon the Hunting Society for its vocabulary and ritual ⁽¹⁾. Some organizations such as the Gerífé, Keríkerí and Batá-Okoto are devoted to dancing and are found principally amongst the Oku Creoles. Others, such as the Egúgú, started by the Fourah Bay Oku, have intricate funeral rituals. Perhaps the most widely-encountered society other than the Odé is the Alikálí, not of Yoruba origin although having adopted several items of ritual vocabulary from the Yoruba language. Its members are predominantly Temne, Fula and Creole.

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- 1) Some non-traditional societies have sprung up in rivalry both to the Odé and to each other, and were often started by single individuals, sometimes ex-Odé members themselves. Less prevalent now than formerly, these societies were often merely glorified gangs which operated in, and jealously guarded, well-defined areas within the city. The most well-known of these were the

III.1.0.4 The Muslim Yoruba, or Okú-Marabú, were able to maintain their religion despite intensive proselytism among them carried out by European and African missionaries. Koranic schools were established and an alliance formed with Mandinka and Fulani Arabic scholars in the area. Yet continuing ill will toward the Yoruba-speaking Muslims helped propagate the general feeling of unrest and the desire to return to Nigeria, and there were sporadic exoduses from Freetown to that country until late into the century. Even to-day the Oku community in Freetown maintains some contact with Nigeria, and exhibits many cultural and linguistic characteristics distinguishing it from other Creole groups.

Remi Boys, followers of one Remi (now deceased) who was barred from the legitimate Ode Society during the 1960's. This phenomenon may be compared with the highly organized Black gangs of urban North America, as described in R.L. Keiser, The Vice Lords: Warriors of the Streets, New York, 1969.

III.1.1.0 The continuing use of the Yoruba language is evident ⁽¹⁾, though waning, in Freetown, but the language as spoken there reflects not only the mixture of many Nigerian dialects but also considerable lexical and syntactic interference from Krio. In its most attenuated form, i.e. when the language may still be regarded as Yoruba rather than as Krio with a heavy Yoruba element, such constructions as mi omo ("my child") may be met with, compared with Standard Yoruba omō`mī and Krio mi pikin.

III.1.1.1 While the lexical impact upon Krio from Yoruba has been considerable, a less-readily apparent, but no less extensive influence from that language

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- 1) Although von S. Bradshaw (1966), p. 61 says "...it is alleged that Yoruba has 'survived' in Freetown among Aku families isolated for more than a century from the mother country; Yoruba is certainly spoken in Freetown, but only by Nigerians or Sierra Leoneans who have had personal or family contacts with Nigeria in their own lifetime". However the grandparents (now deceased)

has been in calquing and syntactic ordering in Krio. Thus Krio slip go for "to go off to sleep" has as its model Yoruba sũ lō (lit. "sleep go"); the word order in such noun-plus-noun compounds as bebí-yáy ("pupil, iris"), or kandá-belé ("skin of the stomach"), reflects Yoruba ōmō-ódžú ⁽¹⁾ and āwō-l'īkū (lit. "child-eye" and "skin-stomach") respectively. Such compounded items in Krio have been discussed more fully in chapter VI.

2.0.0.

So extensive has influence from Yoruba been, in fact, lexically, syntactically and phonologically ⁽²⁾,

of two informants (Mr Bayo Bright and Mrs Gillian Golley), and the parents of a third informant (Mr Abdul Cole) all reputedly speak or spoke Yoruba, not one of whom ever left Sierra Leone.

- 1) SOED lists "baby" as the small image of oneself reflected in another's eye, last occurring in print in 1682. Hence Krio bebí-yáy may be the result of convergence.
- 2) Even the vocalic inventories are almost identical; see III.1.1.6.

that there is reason to suppose that modern Krio may be the result of double creolization, the second involving contact between the earlier Sierra Leone Creole, and Yoruba. Certainly where Krio differs from other English-derived Atlantic creoles, these differences may largely be accounted for by the presence of Yoruba lexical, syntactic or phonological elements.

III.1.1.2 Yorubans who have emigrated to Freetown in recent years — many of whom are commercial photographers — appear to feel no close kinship with the Oku Creoles, and the two groups do not appear to socialize to any appreciable extent. Non-Oku Creoles tend to regard the Oku-Marabu unfavorably, although most of the latter regard themselves as the only "true" Creoles, referring to themselves as yóyó (i.e. "beautiful") Krió. A minority of Oku do not consider themselves to be Creoles at all, claiming allegiance above all to Nigeria.

III.1.1.3 The Yoruba language

Yoruba is characterized by lack of grammatical gender, lack of a nominal class system, and the proclivity for compounding morphemes, with accompanying tonal and phonological modification, thus:

dē, "hunt" : ōdē, "hunter"

mō, "know" : imō, "knowledge"

kpānā, "extinguish" : kpānākpānā, "fireman"

sū, "sleep" : aisū, "state of sleeplessness"

džē, "eat"

wē, "wash"

ōwó, "hand"

: ādžēūmāwēwó, "one who eats
without washing his hands"

This feature has resulted in Yoruba compounded items entering Krio as simple morphemes, sometimes with a change of form class, e.g.:

abuké

1) Hunchback

2) Hunchback's hump (for some
speakers).

Cf. SY ābūké, "hunchback",

< abī, "one who possesses",
+ īké, "hump".

ilénikwá

Quisling, disloyal member within
the household.

Cf. SY īlé nī kúwa, "the house
it is (where) death is".

ofófó

Busybody, inquisitive person.

Cf. SY ofófó, "tale-bearing".

A busybody or tale-bearer is

ōlóofófó in SY.

ólé ó!

Word of commiseration or sympathy.

Cf. SY ō lē ō, "it is hard".

Krio also has the calqued form

i tránga, with the same meaning.

III.1.1.4 The present thesis departs from the orthography of Standard Yoruba in order to exemplify the differences and similarities between the two languages more clearly. These modifications are as follows:

a) Yoruba ọ ([ɔ]) is written ɔ,

- b) Yoruba e ([ɛ]) is written ɛ,
- c) Yoruba V+n to represent nasalization of V is written Ṽ,
- d) Yoruba ɕ ([ʃ]) is written ṣ,
- e) Yoruba j ([dʒ] or [ɟ]) is written dž,
- f) High tone is marked with an acute accent as in SY orthography: bá = bá,
- g) Mid tone is marked with a bar (but is unmarked in SY orthography): ba = bā,
- h) Low tone is unmarked (but is marked with a grave accent in SY orthography): bà = ba,
- i) Falling and rising tones on single vowels are marked with a circumflex or haček (or wedge) accent respectively. These are both indicated by a tilde in SY orthography, or by a sequence of two vowels. Both representations are ambiguous.

III.1.1.5 Yoruba phonology: The consonants

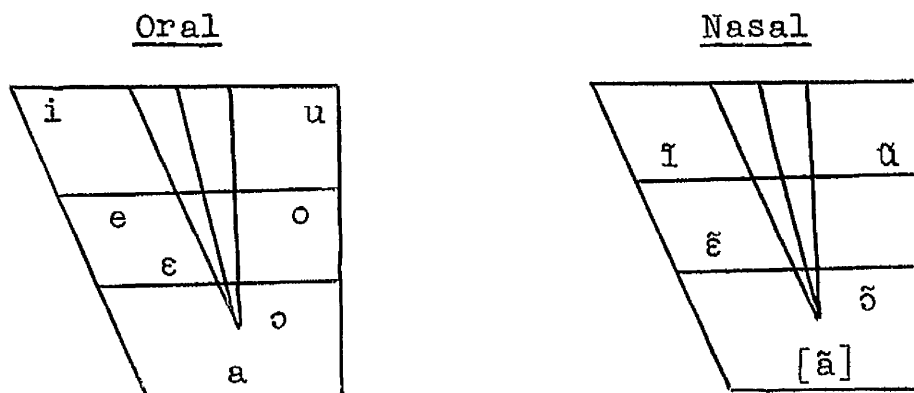
In terms of the orthography outlined here, the consonantal phonemes of Yoruba are as follows:

	Bilabial	Labio-dental	Alveolar	Palatal-Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Labio-velar	Glottal
Plosive	b		t d			k g	kp gb	
Fricative		f	s	ʃ				h
Affricate				dʒ				
Nasal	m		[n]					
Tap			r					
Lateral			l					
Approximant					y		w	

Note that [n] is an allophone of /l/, and occurs before nasalized vowels. The palatal approximant /y/ is realized as a palatal fricative ([ç]) by some speakers, /r/ ([ɾ]) is [ɹ] before nasal vowels, similarly /y/ becomes [ỹ] and /w/ becomes [w̃]. Syllabic (orthographic) m is homorganic with a following consonant, and will be represented by [m], [n] or [ŋ].

III.1.1.6 Yoruba phonology: The vowels

Like Krio, Yoruba has seven oral and five nasal vowels ⁽¹⁾, as follows:



All vowels other than /e/ and /o/ are nasalized to a greater or lesser degree following a nasal consonant; as in Krio these two vowels have no nasal counterparts ⁽²⁾. The nasal vowels /ã/ and /õ/ are distinct for some speakers, but fall together as /õ/ (usually in the environment of [ɔ]) for others. The nasalized close back vowel /ũ/ is usually realized as [uŋ], following a velar stop.

- 1) Many dialects of Yoruba have only four nasal vowels.
- 2) Although both /ẽ/ and /õ/ occur as secondary phonological features in Krio (See Chapter I).

III.1.1.7 Yoruba syllabic structure consists of the following three basic forms:

- a) N (syllabic nasal), as ń- (mō ńlō, "I am going")
- b) V, as in ó ("he, she, it")
- c) CV, as in bé ("jump")

In Oyo Yoruba, upon which the standard variety is largely based, words of the pattern V_1CV_2 are subject to vowel restrictions: V_1 cannot be /u/ or /ĩ/; if V_1 is /ɛ/ or /o/ then V_2 cannot be /e/ or /o/, and if V_1 is /e/ or /o/ then V_2 cannot be /a/, /ɛ/ or /o/.

III.1.1.8 Yoruba operates a three tone system, viz. high, mid and low. In a nominal of the V_1CV_2 type, V_1 can only take a mid or a low tone; in a VCV sequence, if the first vowel is low tone and the second high, this latter is realized as a low to high rise whether within a word or across two word boundaries.

III.1.2.0 Yoruba vocabulary in Krio: Phonological Modification.

The majority of Yoruba-derived items in Krio are phonologically identical with the corresponding items in modern Standard Yoruba (SY), although the mid tone in Yoruba corresponds to the high or low tone in fully-assimilated Yoruba-derived Krio words. For those Creoles who have retained a knowledge of Yoruba as a discrete language, the situation, both regarding tone and extent of lexical carry-over into Krio, is less clear cut. Due to lack of material dealing with local dialects of Yoruba, it is often difficult to ascertain whether phonological differences between Yoruba-derived items in Krio and the corresponding items in 'common' or Standard Yoruba are the result of Yoruba dialect forms or independent developments in Krio. To be sure, some non standard features apparent in the Krio items can be shown to be carry-overs from Nigerian Yoruba usage;

this is especially true both of the behaviour of nasal vowels, and the loss and/or elision of vowels resulting from polymorphemic compounding. Consonantal divergences are few, and readily accounted for, either having demonstrable parallels in Nigerian Yoruba dialects, or nearly always occurring as alternatives to Krio forms phonologically identical with Standard Yoruba.

III.1.2.1 Since dialect variation in many languages is more apparent in the differences of vowel than of consonant phonemes, it may be that the majority of the apparent divergences in Krio are in fact derived from unrecorded variants in Nigerian Yoruba. Considering how little English-derived items have been phonologically modified in Krio, and the fact that Yoruba continues to be spoken in Freetown and the Peninsula, it seems unlikely that much of the Yoruba-derived lexicon has undergone drastic phonological change in Krio, but

in fact reflects features which may if traced be shown to be mainly of Nigerian Yoruba dialect origin. Curtin and Vansina ⁽¹⁾ distinguish two major dialect areas for Yoruba, viz. northern and western; judging from the data in Koelle's Polyglotta Africana dialect speakers appear to have been about equally represented from both areas in Freetown ⁽²⁾. In modern terms, the groups he noted were as follows:

<u>Northern group</u>	<u>Western group</u>
Aworo (3)	Ekiti (many)
Bunu (many)	Egba (many)
Igala (13)	Idžeša (many)
Oyo (several thousand)	Idžebu (not known)
Yagba (many)	Ife (6)
	Ondo (30)
	Ota (21)
	Šekiri (3)

1) 1964, pp. 194-196. An alternative classification of Koelle's material has been published by Dalby (1964a).

2) These estimates give no clue as to the lin-

III.1.2.2 Absence of nasalization

It is not uncommon to find Yoruba-derived items in Krio with oral vowels where the corresponding vowel in SY is nasalized. Far less frequently the reverse phenomenon may be encountered, with nasalized vowels in Krio items where the SY counterpart bears an oral vowel. In some instances nasalized and non-nasalized forms exist in free variation in Krio. Although this feature may be a reflex of Krio origin, since it also occurs in items derived from languages other than Yoruba (see II.1.1.4a, phonology), the presence or absence of nasalization is evident in the Yoruba dialects as well ⁽¹⁾. An examination of the ca. 300 items in twelve Yoruba dialects which were compiled in the 19th Century by

guistic situation vis-à-vis Yoruba in settlements outside of Freetown.

- 1) Cf. Rowlands (1965) p. 104: "...the absence of nasalization in some common words...is a characteristic of Egba speakers".

Koelle in his Polyglotta Africana indicates that while this variability of nasalization occurs all over the Yoruba-speaking area, its non-occurrence is greater in the northern group of dialects. Of the two areas, 33% of Koelle's items exhibiting vocalic nasalization are exclusive to the northern group, and only 11% to the western group. A further 11% of the northern group of dialects features both presence and absence of nasalization, compared with 44% for the western dialects:

	Northern	Western
Presence of Nasalization	33%	11%
Absence of Nasalization	66 %	45%
Presence of both features	11 %	44%

Half the available Krio items exhibiting non-occurrence of nasalization where it occurs in SY, contain the vowel /u/, while a further 25% contain /i/. The vowels /o/ and /a/ each account for 12½%, while no examples of SY /ɛ/ corresponding to Krio /ɛ/ have

been noted:

a) SY /ũ/ : MK /u/

atóku }
atókũ }

Masquerader's attendant.

Cf. SY ātókũ, "Egungun's accomplice".

egúgú

1) A masquerader.

2) The society of its followers.

Cf. SY egúngú, "a masquerader".

mudumúdu

Brains.

Cf. SY mudũmúdũ, "brain; bone-marrow".

okuru }
ekuru }

Mange.

Cf. SY okurũ, "mange".

olúkótú

Rank within the Hunting Society.

Cf. SY ōlúkōtũ, "rank within the Hunting Society".

obú }
obũ }

Name given to any dirty person or thing.

Cf. SY obũ, "useless person".

ɔsú Herb sp.

Cf. SY ɔsú, "type of herb".

tɛkú Maudlin.

Cf. SY tɛkúntɛkú, "sorrowfully".

b) SY /ĩ/ : MK /i/

édžiri Medicinal plant sp.

Cf. SY ēdžirĩ, "balsam apple"

ɛfónyóri Wild lettuce.

Cf. SY ɛfó-yórĩ, "wild lettuce".

iši }
išĩ }
ĩši } Poisonous plant sp. used for killing
fish.

Cf. SY išĩ, "ackee apple".

móymóy Bean dish.

Cf. SY móĩmóĩ, "a bean dish".

Clarke (1843) records this item

as "myh myh", reflecting an

Oyo-type pronunciation which

occurs in Cameroon Pidgin as

máymáy, and which may have

been taken thence from Sierra Leone before being ousted by the modern (Idžebu-type) pronunciation.

c) SY /ɔ̃/ : MK /o/

agboró

Deer sp.

Cf. SY agbõrĩ, "antelope".

aridó

Plant sp., possibly laburnum.

Cf. SY aridõ, "plant sp.".

d) SY /ã/ : MK /a/

agândásí

Male or female clothing.

Cf. SY agândãsí, "man's baggy embroidered trousers".

kpákpákpá

Shrivelled, withered, dry, to describe fish especially.

Cf. SY kpánkpańkpá, "sun dried".

The non-realization of nasality in vowels following nasal consonants is a common feature in many Yoruba dialects, and is exclusively the case in Krio. For

this reason this phenomenon has not been dealt with in detail here. Briefly in an ~~NV~~ sequence in Yoruba, V = V or \tilde{V} , but for Krio is V only:

arámu Bribery, treachery.

Cf. SY harámu, harámũ, "swindler, trickster".

kúnó To refine, make smooth.

Cf. SY kúnó, kúnõ, "finely ground".

ogumo Solanum sp.

Cf. SY ogũmo, ogũmõ, "solanum sp.".

III.1.2.3 Presence of nasalization.

Nasalization in MK items where it does not appear in the SY counterparts occurs far less frequently than the non-occurrence of this feature (III.1.2.2 above). Again this may reflect one or another dialect survival (vid. tám̃ba, below), or an in-Krio modification.

a) SY /o/ : MK /o~~N~~/

Since */õ/ does not occur as a phoneme in either Krio or Yoruba, the following, with the exception of

adžéyofonlá, may be considered to contain an intrusive nasal rather than a nasalized vowel:

adžéyofonlá

Croton sp.

Cf. SY adžé-ofolé, "croton amabilis" (< adžé + (k)o + fo + lé, "the witch did not jump on it"). The SY lé, "(is) upon" appears to have been replaced by nlá, possibly through an imperfect knowledge of Yoruba (cf. SY nlá, "big").

dondó

Nothing at all (used in conjunction with nó: a nó ge' dondó, I have nothing at all).

Cf. SY dōdō, "empty".

gongóngon

Gullet, larynx.

Cf. SY gōgōngō, "adam's apple".

b) SY /a/ : MK /aŋ/~ /ã/

awangót
hawangót }

Parsimonious, stingy, mean.

Cf. SY háwó, "miserly",

iháwó, "stinginess", + got

(< E. "gut"). Retention

of initial /h/ is common in

this word even in non-emphatic
pronunciations.

tambá
tabá
kaká-tambá }

To wash the genitals.

Cf. SY táába (ex Hausa), "to

wash the private parts". The

variant form táamba also oc-

curs for many Yoruba speakers.

tangbá

To kick.

Cf. SY tākpā, "to kick to

death", with possible con-

fusion with SY tāníkpá, "to

kick" (See also III.1.2.11)

c) SY /i/ : MK /ĩ/~/iN/

indžaló
idžaló }

Driver ant.

Cf. SY īdžalō, "driver ant".

īši
išī
iši }

Plant sp. used as a fish-poison.

Cf. SY išī, "ackee apple".

d) SY /u/ : MK /ũ/~/uN/

fakú

To don the Erí masquerader's costume.

Cf. SY fekú, "to be wearing the Erí masquerader's costume" (See also III.1.2.4).

III.1.2.4 Different vowel elision

As has been stated above (III.1.1.3), morpheme compounding is an extremely prominent feature of Yoruba. This is especially so in the case of verb compounding; in their simple form verbs are nearly all of the CV type, but may enter into combination

with a nominal element or with another verb, with specification of meaning. Thus kawé, "to read a book", is compounded from ka, "to read", + iwé, "book"; džádē, "to come out", may be analyzed as džá, "to cut across", + odē, "out". Verbal combinations include músō, "to tie up", from mú, "take", + sō, "to tie", and kpebo, "to call back", is from kpe, "to call", + bo, "to return". Such combinations are subject to tonal modification and vowel elision, i.e. one of the two vowels in conjunction is dropped. While there is no rule indicating which vowel is kept and which is lost, one may state loosely that the vowel of the more commonly-occurring item is retained. Thus for the above we have kawé (ka + iwé) and not *kiwé, and džádē (džá + odē) rather than *džodé, although such forms could conceivably be encountered in the dialects. Rowlands ⁽¹⁾ dis-

1) 1965, p. 105.

cusses the occurrence of dífá ~ dáfá (< dá + īfá) "to consult the Ifa oracle", and dódžó ~ dádžó (< dá + ōdžó), "to appoint a day", as examples of this phenomenon in Yoruba, and gives "momi" ~ "mumi", i.e. mōmī ~ mūmī (< mū + omī), "to drink water", as cited by Koelle. Krio appears to have several forms reflecting non-standard elision in Yoruba, although none of these elision patterns in Krio has been located in any Nigerian Yoruba dialect:

rokotó

To shake the body.

Cf. SY rakotó, "to whip a snail-shell like a spinning top" (< ra, "to tie", + okotó, "snail-shell").

fakú

To don the Erí masquerader's costume.

Cf. SY fekú, "to be wearing the Erí masquerader's costume, (< fa, "to drag along", +

skú, "Erí costume"). See
also III.1.2.3 for presence
of nasalization in Krio item.

agbóri Cranium, skull.

Cf. SY āgbárí, "skull", (<
īgbá, "calabash", + ōrí,
"head").

III.1.2.5 Non-occurrence of initial vowel

Initial vowels are commonly dropped in all
Yoruba dialects, and it is likely that this feature
in Krio reflects Yoruba colloquial usage rather than
an in-Krio development (1):

džandžá Rubbish, worthless items, junk.

Cf. SY idžandžá, "meat scraps,
offal".

-
- 1) The same feature found for some English-derived
items (e.g. gri, bot, lévin, "agree", "about",
"eleven") may similarly be shown to derive from
British dialect forms (See II.1.3.5).

kokotába

Tobacco pipe.

Cf. SY ikokotába, "tobacco pipe".

kpakó

Occiput, nape of the neck.

Cf. SY ikpakó, "nape".

nagó

A Yoruba; the Yoruba language.

Cf. SY anagó, "coastal subtribe of the Yoruba, living on the Dahomey border".

šákpá

Sorrel seeds, used in stews, etc.

Cf. SY išákpá, "red sorrel".

III. 1.2.6 Presence of initial vowel (prothesis).

Few items in Krio admit of an initial vowel where the SY equivalent lacks this. No instance of this phenomenon has been found in the Yoruba sources at hand, although alternation of initial vowels in that language (especially /e/ ~ /o/) has been noted. Krio items containing an initial

vowel which is absent from the SY equivalent, include:

afere

Horn blown to signify death of a
Hunting Society member.

Cf. SY fere, "flute, bugle".

oboro

Gourd used as water-container.

Cf. SY gboro, "young gourd",

also III.1.2.11.

ogongošú

Simile for big, ugly thing.

Cf. SY gongošú, "ungainly".

III.1.2.7 Non-occurrence of medial and/or final
vowel (apheresis).

This appears to be an internal Krio development,
since not only does the same feature occur in Krio items
derived from Temne (1), English (2), etc., but the syl-
labic structure of SY would not permit such vocalic
elision in that language:

akríbóto

Woman having a constricted vagina.

1) E.g. témlé, "short dress worn over lappa" (< Temne
a-témúlé [ditto, ex Susu]).

2) E.g. gregrí, "Gregory".

Cf. SY akíríboto, akííboto, "cola nut which cannot be split", also by extention, "woman having a constricted vagina."

alfá

Muslim priest; fortune teller.

Cf. SY alufáa, "Muslim priest or Christian minister".

fukfúk

Lungs, entrails, guts (both literally and figuratively: yu ge' fukfúk o!, "you've got guts!").

Cf. SY fukufúku, "lungs".

kpetkpét

Slimy; slime, mud.

Cf. SY kpetekpēte, "slime, mud".

máslási

Mosque.

Cf. SY másálási, "mosque".

tangbá

To kick.

Cf. SY tāníikpā, "to kick" (possibly with convergence from SY tākpā, "to kick to death". See also III.1.2.11).

III.1.2.8 Difference of vowel

In addition to vowel differences resulting from the occurrence of non-standard elided forms in Krio (III.1.2.4 above), several items contain one or more vowels different from those occurring in the cognate SY form. Again it is difficult to estimate to what extent such forms reflect Yoruba dialect retentions, or have developed as internal modifications in Krio. Certain vowels, such as the half-close pair /e/ and /o/ have been recorded ⁽¹⁾ in free alternation in some SY items, e.g. eebō ~ oibó, "European", eefo ~ oofó, "snakeskin", and ekiti ~ okiti, "hillock", but the majority of those listed below for Krio do not correspond to any identical forms in Standard or dialect varieties of Yoruba. Vowel harmony appears to be a factor in many cases; items apparently thus modified are marked with an asterisk (*).

/a/ : /ε/

*akparoró

Bambara groundnut.

Cf. SY ekpa-rorō, "Bambara".

1) In Abrahams (1958).

groundnut".

/a/ : /i/

*alágba

Whip type.

Cf. SY lāgba, ilāgba, "whip".

/e/ : /aa/

*keledžú

Greeting to someone who is entertaining.

Cf. SY káalédžo, "a greeting to one with visitors".

/e/ : /i/

adetí

Deaf person.

Cf. SY ādītí, "deaf person".

/ε/ : /a/

*džekute

Elephantiasis.

Cf. SY džakute, "elephantiasis".

/ε/ : /oo/

oléde

A certain masquerader.

Cf. SY ōlōōdē, "chief of the hunters".

/i/ : /ε/, /o/

igberi

Hunting Society recruit, or non-

member.

Cf. SY egberi, ogberi, "one not initiated into the religious mysteries".

/o/ : /e/

egbó

Cooked without admixture, pure, unadulterated.

Cf. SY egbē, "food cooked by itself without water".

/o/ : /e/

osúsú }
esúsú }

Mutual aid society.

Cf. SY esúsú, osúsú, "savings fund, thrift club".

okúrú }
ekúrú }

Mange.

Cf. SY ekúrú, okúrú, "mange".

/o/ : /u/

abodžá }
abudžá }

Bush-beater in Hunting Society.

Cf. SY abudžá, "short cut".

ekélódžóti }
ekélódžúti }

1) A tale-bearer, tell-tale;

2) A false alarm.

Cf. SY ekélōdžúti, "the liar
has been put to shame".

/u/ : /o/

keledžú Greeting to someone who is enter-
taining.

Cf. SY káalédžo, "a greeting
to one with visitors".

kutukútú }
kotokótó } Rough and rocky road.

Cf. SY koto, "pits, potholes".

III.1.2.9 Simplification of long vowels

Where a Yoruba item contains a double vowel, with
or without compound tone, the cognate Krio form con-
tains a single vowel with accompanying simplification
of tone:

ádžo Compassion, sympathy.

Cf. SY aádžo, "sympathy".

dzókodžé Plant sp.

Cf. SY džókó-džéé, "plant
sp.".

edžáro Fish sp.

Cf. SY ēdžāaro, "fish sp.".

kábo Welcome!

Cf. SY káabo, "welcome!".

sará Alms.

Cf. SY saráa, "charity, alms".

tagíri Rufus vine.

Cf. SY tagíiri, "vine sp.".

teté To walk with faltering steps, as a
child or invalid.

Cf. SY tetété, "to teeter".

togbé To become drowsy.

Cf. SY toogbé, "become over-
come with drowsiness".

Two instances have been noted where SY double vowels
have been retained in the Krio cognate items:

aróoke Non-Creole Sierra Leonean.

Cf. SY āróoke, "non-Lagosian".

okónáaní Pair of carpet slippers.

Cf. SY okĩ náa nĩ, "both are
the same".

These constitute so small a minority that they may be regarded as not being fully assimilated into Krio, but instead as forming part of Sierra Leone Yoruba. The word okonáani does not appear to be used in its Krio sense in any variety of Nigerian Yoruba, and may have been coined locally by Yoruba-speaking Oku Creoles. When double vowels do occur in Krio, they are either the result of elision, e.g.

waála Trouble, nuisance.

Cf. SY wahála, "trouble" (<

Hausa wahalla),

or the coming together of like vowels in adjacent words, e.g. naát (na+at) "it is a hat", naantí (na+antí) "it is aunty", goóm (go+om) "go home". This may be contrasted with the absence of the feature of consonantal gemination in Krio (Chapter I).

III.1.2.10 Elision of SY /r/.

In SY, intervocalic /r/ tends to disappear, to leave only the two vowels, e.g. dará ~ dáā, "good", kúrékuré ~ kúékué, "dwarf", yōrubá ~ yōobá, "Yoruba". This process is also evident in Yoruba-derived items

in Krio, although in cases where the two vowels are identical the resultant double vowel becomes simplified:

akparó

Groundnut sp.

Cf. SY akparóó < akparóró,

"groundnut sp."

šaká

Gourd rattle type.

Cf. SY šakáá < šakára, "gourd
rattle".

In one recorded instance Krio appears to have retained the long form where SY has lost it:

akarakúru

kúru

Mashed plantain, rice-flour and
sugar fritter.

Cf. SY akarakúú, "cake used
by warriors as provision on
war expeditions".

III.1.2.11 Consonantal divergences

Alternative forms of Yoruba-derived items often exist in free variation in Krio, of which one corres-

ponds to the present SY form and the second sometimes corresponds to the form in another Nigerian Yoruba dialect:

/b/ : /gb/

oboro

Gourd sp.

Cf. SY gboro, "gourd". Also

Bini obwolo, "gourd".

/gb/ : /b/

égbolo }
ébolo }

Green vegetable sp.

Cf. SY ēbolo, "vegetable sp.".

gbadžé }
badžé }

To spoil, misbehave.

Cf. SY badzé, "spoiled".

gbatá }
batá }

Type of small drum.

Cf. SY batá, "drum for Shango rituals".

/dž/ : /d/

kpandžuku

Accoutrements, one's paraphernalia, bits and pieces.

Cf. SY kpāndūkū, "basket for
holding odds and ends (1)".

/d/ : /r/

gedégedé }
gerégeré }

A rocky incline.

Cf. SY gerégeré, "precipitous
slope".

/g/ : /k/

alangáta

To bump into a person and throw him
off balance, especially in soccer.

Cf. SY džálánkátō, "let us all
jump together", in a game.

/gb/ : /kp/

gbáda!

Wait!, stop!, come back!; command
used by Hunting Society members.

Cf. SY kpāda, "to come back".

-
- 1) A striking parallel may be found in Tyrone English
bardicks, "belongings, possessions", deriving from
Irish Gaelic bárrdóg, "box, hamper, panier".

lagbálagbá }
lakpálakpá } Ringworm.

Cf. SY lakpálakpá, "ringworm".

tangbá To kick.

Cf. SY tāníikpā, "to kick", or

tākpā, "to kick to death".

Variation of /gb/~ /kp/ in SY
 has been noted by Rowlands (1).

/l/ : /r/

lákpala }
rákpala } To struggle, writhe, engage in
 horseplay; to fawn, as a child.

Cf. SY rákpala, "to writhe".

miṇkáylu Thief.

Cf. SY monkarúū, "dishonesty,
 guile", with possible influ-
 ence from the Susu proper
 name miṇkaylu.

1) Rowlands (1965), p. 106, note 7.

/n/ : /l/

džan̄koníko

Beginning of a refrain chanted by children to taunt a bedwetter.

Cf. SY džan̄ kōlí kō, "one elevated as a figure of fun or disgrace". Occurrence of /n/ for /l/ in certain positions is a feature of some western Yoruba dialects.

/n/ : /r/

enímédži

A double back-flip.

Cf. SY erīmédži, "twice".

/r/ : /n/

orí-okikí

Chatterbox, scandal-monger.

Cf. SY ōnī-okikí, lit. "possessor of rumours".

/p/ : /kp/

panteté

To balance on the head.

Cf. SY kpanteté, "to balance something on the head without using the hands".

pepékulé
kpekpékulé }

Gravel, pebbles; ground china plate
used as a tooth-whitening abrasive.

Cf. SY kpekpékulé, "pebbles".

/r/ : /w/

kéri

Song of praise or love.

Cf. SY kêwi, "minstrel's song
of praise".

adžéfáro
adžéfówo }

Medicinal plant sp.

Cf. SY adžēfáwō, "plant sp.".

šaróró

Jangling metal attachment fastened
to a baby's ankles to amuse him as
he crawls around.

Cf. SY šāwóró, "jingles attached
to a child's ankles and
wrists to guard against his be-
ing taken away again; such a
child follows the death of a
previous one, and is considered
to be the rebirth of that child.

He is called ōnīšāwórolése,
 "possessing šāwóro on the
 feet".

wéréwéré
wéré }

Left-over scraps of food.

Cf. SY wéwēwé, wéwé, "crumbs".

Mende wélé and Kwia Temne

α-wéré with the same meaning
 are probably adoptions from
 Krio.

/w/ : /r/
 /w/ : /r/
š
ššawoyé }
šaroyé }

To complain incessantly.

Cf. SY šaroyé, "to grumble,
 complain". Interchange of

[ɣ] ~ [w] in Yoruba dialects
 has been noted by Rowlands (1).

1) Rowlands (1965), p. 106, note 7. Cf. also the
 alternating English-derived forms ombwéla ~ ombréla,
 "umbrella".

/tš/ : /k/

tšékéré }
kékéré }

Tiny.

Cf. SY kékéré, "tiny".

/z/ : /š/

zaná

Matches.

Cf. SY īšáná, "matches".

III.1.2.12 Metathesis.

One example of metathesis has been noted, alongside an unmetathesized form:

kokóbo }
kobóko }

Whip type.

Cf. SY kōbóko, "whip fashioned from a bull's penis".

III.1.3.0 Yoruba vocabulary in Krio

With the exception of English, Yoruba has provided more lexical items in more semantic areas than any other language. Because adoption from Yoruba is so extensive, the items cannot be related to specific semantic areas as clearly as, for example, Arabic-derived words, practically all of which are concerned

only with Islam. Yoruba-derived Hunting Society vocabulary however constitutes a notable exception, although despite the considerable number of items in Krio connected with the Society, few are in common use, or indeed known, by the majority of the Creole population. Many items have undergone semantic modification; these fall into three groups, viz. semantic extension, where a new meaning for an item has developed in addition to the original meaning, semantic shift, where the Krio meaning differs from the Yoruba, and semantic specialization, where the Krio meaning has a narrower application than the cognate Yoruba item.

III.1.3.1 Semantic extension.

None of the extended meanings (marked (2) below) has been located in Nigerian Yoruba, although this is no indication that such meanings did not occur in the metropolitan dialects at some time, or that they do not still exist as yet unrecorded. Creole culture has preserved aspects of Yoruba folklore now obsolete

in Nigeria, and it is not unlikely that the Krio language has similarly retained Yoruba items and meanings now lost in the source language.

akpata

- 1) Plateau, boulder, especially
near water.

- 2) Person of importance.

Cf. SY akpata, "rock, boulder".

dandógó

- 1) Type of gown.
- 2) Penny.

Cf. SY dāndógó, "type of gown".

The development of the extended meaning in Krio may be due to influence from graní-frók, meaning both a style of dress and an old-fashioned penny.

The reference is probably to the figure of Britannia in her robes on one side of the coin.

Cf. Mende bóbání, "gown", and

bóbání-gópo, "penny".

ekélódžúti }
ekélódžóti }

1) A tell-tale, tale-bearer.

2) A false alarm.

Cf. SY ekélōdžúti, "a liar
who has been exposed", lit.
"the liar has been put to
shame".

odžú

1) Eyes, especially in the expres-
sion i luk mi na mi odžú, "he
looked me straight in the eyes".
Also less commonly, eyes gener-
ally.

2) The eyes of the Erí masquerader.

3) The eyes of animals at night, re-
flecting the Hunter's lamp-light.

Cf. SY ōdžú, "eyes".

omi

1) Water (little currency).

2) Water taken on a hunting trip as
part of Hunter's provisions.

Cf. SY ōmī, "water".

owíwí

1) African barn-owl.

2) In gatif-owíwí, a gross falsehood.

Cf. SY owíwí, "owl sp.".

okpoló

1) Frog; frog sp.

2) Cyst.

Cf. SY okpoló, "frog sp.".

III.1.3.2 Semantic shift.

Items included in this group represent the speech of non-Yoruba-speaking Creoles; for those retaining a knowledge of the Yoruba language the Yoruba meanings may still be used:

adžanakú

1) Baggy trousers.

2) A bully.

3) Simile for hugeness or strength.

Cf. SY adžanakū, "praise-name for elephant".

akatá

Thief.

Cf. SY akatá, "muskrat, civet cat".

Probably influenced by the occur-

rence of Krio manyaré, "thief",

< Mende mānyalê, "cat sp."

alé

Herb used as a skin irritant, sometimes mixed with ground glass and pepper for superior effectiveness.

Cf. SY ālē, "herbal aphrodisiac".

A great many plant names refer to different species in each language.

alikipérí

Water crawcraw, a disease.

Cf. SY alikipērí, "a curse".

eléyĩ

Item occurring only in the simile yu tit kak lek' eléyĩ, "your teeth jut out like eléyĩ".

Cf. SY eléyĩ, "one having teeth".

enímédži

A somersault or back flip, in the verb phrase ton enimédži.

Cf. SY erĩmédži, "twice". The Krio interpretation perhaps came about by wrongly translating ton enimédži as "turn a somersault"

rather than "turn twice".

idžakpá

Item occurring only in the simile
tránga lek' idžakpá kandá, "as strong
as idžakpá shell".

Cf. SY idžakpá, "tortoise".

kpandžuku

One's nick-nacks, paraphernalia.

Cf. SY kpāndūkū, "box or casket
for oddments" (See III.1.2.11).

kpekpelé

Structural braces about 20" high, used
to shore up some types of dwelling.

Cf. SY kpekpelé, "sleeping plat-
form made of dried mud".

odžúkokoro

An envious person.

Cf. SY ōdžú-kokoro, "envy". An
envious person is ōlódžú-kokoro.

okú }
okú }
akú }

A Creole of Yoruba descent.

Cf. SY okú, "an archaic greeting".

oníkere

Masquerader's whisk.

Cf. SY ō ní iru kere, "he has a

wand".

rokotó

To shake the body.

Cf. SY rakotó, "to whip a snail-shell like a top".

III.1.3.3 Semantic specialization

As noted above (III.1.3.0) "semantic specialization" refers here to those items whose Krio meaning is narrower than the corresponding Yoruba interpretation. The same term may be differently applied to specialized areas of vocabulary, such as that of the various secret societies. For semantic specialization of society terms, see III.1.4.1 and III.1.4.2 below.

agándásí

Male or female attire.

Cf. SY agandāsī, "man's loose, embroidered trousers".

alangáta

To shove someone off balance, especially whilst playing soccer.

?Cf. SY džálánkátō, "'let's all jump together', said in a game".
SY also has alangéta, "stilt masquerader".

dadá

1) Unusually thick head of hair on
a newborn child;

2) A child thus born.

Cf. SY Dadā, "name of a mythical
king who had very curly hair".

džaladžála

Entrails of a cow (as an inexpensive
item of food).

Cf. SY džaladžála, "offal, scraps".

édžilá

Sixpence (i.e. five new cents).

Cf. SY ēédžilāá, "twelve cowries".

This is twelve "coppers" or half-
pence, although the SY word for
sixpence is ēgbaá, i.e. 2,000
(cowries).

éfa

Threepence (obsolete coin).

Cf. SY ēéfa, "six cowries". The

SY word for threepence is ēgberú,
i.e. 1,000 (cowries).

okele

A portion of fufu taken into the fin-
gers to eat.

Cf. SY okele, "portion of any food".

olúwa

Fufu.

Cf. SY ōlúwā, "lord, master".

Possibly developed as a mock-reverential epithet for the Creoles' staple food.

os̄yĩ

A person with a hare lip or cleft palate, having characteristic speech.

Cf. SY os̄yĩ, "the name of a certain god with nasal speech".

III.1.4.0 Yoruba vocabulary in Krio: Semantic areas of adoption.

While the number of items listed in this chapter derived from Yoruba is not exhaustive ⁽¹⁾, they have been selected to represent every area of adoption into Krio. The list of Yoruba-derived items in Krio,

1) More than twice the ca. 250 discussed here have been recorded (in Hancock, 1971a).

as is the case with English and the local indigenous languages is open-ended, as Yoruba continues to contribute items to the lexical stock of Krio ⁽¹⁾.

Vis-à-vis such contributions, Yoruba has a rank denied to other African languages; this is possibly because it is the ancestral tongue of a great many Creoles whether they regard themselves as Oku or not, but more probably because it is not readily accessible to non-Creole Sierra Leoneans as are English and the local languages, and therefore Yoruba items in Krio help maintain the socially-oriented linguistic barrier between Creole and Indigene. This phenomenon has been carried to an even greater extreme within Creole society itself, by members of the various semi-secret

1) Jones (1971), p. 90 discusses this briefly, and cites as an example of a recent Yoruba-derived adoption into Krio the word omolanke, "a hurly, a handcart used to bring goods from the wharves into town" (< SY omō-lan̄ke, "cart").

societies such as Ode and Gelede, and is paralleled in Creole cultures elsewhere ⁽¹⁾. A development of this has occurred in Britain, where a Yoruba-derived word has come into use by Creoles resident there to refer to a West Indian, viz. adžireké (lit. "eater of sugar cane"). As Caribbean-born Londoners have become increasingly familiar with the term, a more recent name, again Yoruba-derived (igi, lit. "stick"), is coming into use. Sierra Leoneans learn these terms for the first time when they arrive in Britain. Another mark of Yoruba's special status is that whereas languages such as Mende or Temne have provided Krio with a considerable number of pejorative items, fewer such words can be attributed to Yoruba, taking into account the much higher proportion of items from the latter language to those from local languages.

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- 1) Dalby (1971) discusses the rôle of African (mainly Twi) derived items in Jamaican Maroon cult speech. For details of the Maroons in Sierra Leone, see Introduction and African Language Studies XI (1970).

Bradshaw ⁽¹⁾ suggests that the ca. 200 Yoruba-derived items he lists in Krio might reflect the areas of Yoruba influence upon Creole culture, but admits that "such a procedure would hardly be justified: for one thing the list is unlikely to be complete; for another, it seems that many of the words are rare or obsolete". However he notes that "more than a quarter of the list consists of terms referring to food and cookery (this includes most of the botanical names) and that an even larger group is formed by words which may, according to context, be employed as euphemisms or as terms of abuse and mockery. Many of these are essentially esoteric terms, words which outsiders are not intended to understand⁽²⁾. Another

1) 1966, p. 62.

2) Yoruba-derived terms of abuse and mockery are not regarded as pejorative in the sense mentioned on the previous page for e.g. Mende or Temne derived items, where pejorative implications exist for

obvious group is concerned with family and personal relationships". Similar semantic areas have become apparent from an examination of the present corpus of collected items, and fourteen major groupings have been listed.

III.1.4.1 The Hunting (Ode) Society.

Because of its size and the fact that it has undergone less modification than the other societies of Yoruba provenance, the Ode Society has retained more than most a great many words and expressions from the Yoruba language. Nowadays the province of middle and upper class Creoles, the Ode Society has become a semi-secret organization whose actual hunting expeditions into the bush have become largely symbolic,

such items only in their Krio context. An example is the Susu-derived konkó, meaning "a lean-to shack" in Krio, but merely "house" in the source language.

now that most of the bigger species of game animals have become extinct in the Peninsula.

There are in fact over sixty Hunting associations, most of which are members of the Sierra Leone Hunting Amalgamation. Each group has a president (the ašíkpá) and a body of officers, and a sanctuary or headquarters housing the group totem (ogú). This sanctuary may only be entered on certain occasions, and always in the presence of the president. These usually coincide with Christian festivals such as Whitsuntide or Christmas, but special meetings may be convened, for instance in the event of a dispute between society members, when the president has authority to settle such a dispute, or on the occasion of the initiation of new members.

Ode Society ritual is mainly of Yoruba origin, although the Christian Creoles have introduced the Lord's Prayer and Bible-readings into the proceedings, and each hunting expedition is sent off with a prayer and a blessing. Many Christian members

are staunch churchgoers, and may belong to one or more other associations besides the Hunting Society. Whereas most other societies have a number of masqueraders or "devils", the Hunting Society is unique in having just one, the Eri, which embodies the whole spirit of the Ode, and who is guarded with great care by specially-appointed members. If any part of the Eri's garments become damaged, the entire costume must be replaced, which involves dying the new articles in mango-bark dye to give them the colour of the deer (agbori) which the members hunt. The Eri headdresses or masks are still often made in Nigeria, and shipped to Freetown in special cases, remaining untouched by all but a few initiates.

One cannot become a Hunter before the age of nineteen, although members will pledge their children to the Society at the age of two or three; this fact has probably been instrumental in the formation of many unofficial "hunting societies" in Freetown by those not

old enough to join (See III.1.0.3 and III.1.4.2).

The actual initiation into the authentic Ode Society is secret, but the ceremony involves the invocation of the spirits of past Hunters at midnight by the medicine man (nearly always the president), and the placation of the ogú with rum or gin, and colanuts. The recitation of the Lord's Prayer, the washing of the hands of the initiates in a specially prepared herbal infusion (sáwé), and the serving of special food in the nearby community area also feature.

The ogú is considered to be the source of the Hunters' success and prowess, and in presenting his spoils to it, the Hunter gives thanks for making his catch possible. Hunting is carried out during the open season (Krio opin-bús); during the closed season (Krio klozin-bús), which corresponds to the rainy season, no expeditions are undertaken, but traps are set for squirrels, cane-rats or other small fauna if the ground is too wet, or excursions are made, either singly or in pairs, into the bush in search of larger

game. Weapons include knives (obé) or machetes (adá) and, rarely, a gun (šakabúla). Most hunting takes place only at night, when the Hunter may wear a lamp fastened to the front of his hat. Birds are only caught as a last resort; the more sought-after deer are still to be encountered occasionally, but the last leopard to have been killed in the vicinity of Freetown was in the early 1950's. Should two Hunters meet by chance in the bush, certain phrases are employed to establish each other's identity as a legitimate Ode member. These usually take the form of set questions and answers in Yoruba, or giving evidence of the ability to identify the names of particular items in that language such as the weapons, or the Hunter's drinking water.

The ritual language of the Society is not Yoruba as is widely supposed, but Krio with a high Yoruba content, plus some connected sentences, songs and prayers in Yoruba with their original overall meaning. Initiates are expected to familiarize themselves with Hunting vocabulary, and are forbidden to use many of

its terms outside of the context of the Society.

Nevertheless many such terms are widely known, and some non-ritual vocabulary in Krio may in fact have its origin in ɔde terminology; Krio kokówése and kpakó for example, meaning "ankle-bone" and "nape of the neck" respectively (SY kókóse and ikpakó), are body-parts allied with the wearing of necklaces or bracelets, both of which feature in the Erí's dress. Most of the following items are not used outside of the Society environment:

abodžá }
abudžá }

The staff-carrying bush-beater who precedes the Hunters into the hunting bush. His job is to choose the most likely route, and to flush game from the underbrush.

Cf. SY abudžá, "short cut".

adá

Hunter's machete or cutlass, also carried by the bush-beater.

Cf. SY adá, "machete".

adžáde

Senior Hunter, who ranks higher than the president himself, and whose opinion carries great weight.

Cf. SY ādžáadē, "one who comes out", fig. "decision-maker".

afere

Horn blown to signify the death of an Ode Society member.

Cf. SY fere, "flute, bugle".

afó!

Word shouted by members surrounding the Erí masquerader, when a portion of the man inside the costume becomes exposed.

Cf. SY afō, "vacant space".

agba

- 1) A senior Society member.
- 2) A respected community member, in non-ode use.

Cf. SY agba, "person higher in status, or older, than oneself".

agere

Hunter's drum.

Cf. SY agere, "hunter's drum".

agbórí

Hunter's name for the deer or antelope.

Cf. SY agbõríf, "antelope".

akó

Hunter's drum.

Cf. SY ākó, "small drum used by
northern Yoruba tribes".

akowé

Secretary of the Society, whose job it
is to deal with the business connected
with the Hunting Amalgamation (1).

Cf. SY akowé, "writer".

akpáro

akpároro

}
Soup prepared by the Hunters' wives
from the entrails of birds brought
back from a Hunt.

Cf. SY akpāro, "bushfowl".

akpo

Hunter's satchel.

Cf. SY akpo, "any bag".

1) Dr David Dalby has pointed out the fact that the
Maroon groups of Jamaica also have "secretaries".
Those Jamaican Maroons who stayed in Freetown

alágba Whip type made from cow or hippopotamus hide, with shards of glass attached to the end.

Cf. SY lāgba, ilāgba, "whip".

ašíkpa President of the Hunting Society.

Cf. SY āšíkpā, "an official title within the Hunting Society".

ašó Clothing, costume of the Erí masquerader. See also šokoto, infra.

Cf. SY āšō, "cloth, clothing".

atóku }
atókū } The Erí masquerader's attendant.

Cf. SY ātókū, "escort of the Egúṅgú".

awo 1) The oath taken when becoming a

must have found much that was familiar to them in the Yoruba societies, although ignorance of the Yoruba language, at that time far more widely spoken in Freetown, must have prohibited membership for most Maroons.

Hunting Society member. To take this is to (y)it awo, lit. "eat awo".

- 2) In awo-tok, Ode ritual language.

This is also called ontin-tok.

Cf. SY āwō, "secret". Krio (y)it awo is a calque from SY džāwō (< džē, "eat" + awo), "to keep or be told a secret".

babá-ode

- 1) Principal of the Hunting Amalgamation, nowadays chosen by election (but formerly nearly always the Governor General of Sierra Leone);
- 2) Praise-name given to the leopard.

Cf. SY babá ōdē, "father of the hunt".

džagú

Name given to a person whose actual name has been forgotten, or whose name for some reason should be kept secret.

Cf. SY džāgūndžāgū, "title borne

by the descendants of warriors".

džara

Cord or rope used during one phase of the initiation into the ɔde Society.

Cf. SY adžara, "vine sp. from which rope is made; rope made from this".

džárá

To be initiated into the ɔde Society.

Cf. SY džárā (< džá, "to separate from", + ārā, "body"), "to cast off the (old) body". See also yará, s.v.

džédže

General name for various small creatures caught on hunting expeditions.

Cf. SY džédzē-wērē, "rodent, pest".

džegé

Cowries, stitched to the Erí masquerader's costume as a protective charm. This item, although important to ɔde ritual, is not Yoruba; cf. sáwé also. Its occurrence in Mende and Temne is probably via Krio; the ultimate source is as yet unknown.

egbére

Bush spirit encountered by Hunters.

Cf. SY ēgbérē, "sprite, elf".

erí

The Ode masquerader, characterized by his brown garments and fur mask. He carries a hamper of charms strapped to his torso, and carries a hatchet in one hand and a palm-frond whisk in the other.

Cf. SY orí, "universal household deity". See III.1.2.8.

εša

Cowtail whisk held by the Erí, also called olugere, s.v.

Cf. SY εša-ōdē, "hunter's wand".

éta

Civet cat, also called búškyat.

Cf. SY ēta, "muskrat, civet".

fakú

To don the Erí costume.

Cf. SY fekú (< fa, "pull, drag" + ekú, "costume worn by the Egúngú"), "to be wearing (lit.

dragging) the Egúngú costume".

See also III.1.2.4.

geremošéké }
geremaséké }

Regalia, adornment; beads, charms,
etc. on masquerader's costume.

This item has not been found in
SY, but cf. gēērē, "bright,
smart", and šēkēšēkē, "flamboy-
ant".

gbáda!

Stop!, stay!, come back!, wait!, com-
mand used to Hunters going away, or
when a stranger is encountered in the
bush.

Cf. SY kpāda, "to return, come
back". See also III.1.2.11.

gbangba-odé

Public place; place where secrecy need
not be observed.

Cf. SY gbāngbā, "any open space",
+ odē, "outside".

gbógbó

The ordinary members of the Hunting
Society.

Cf. SY gbōgbō, "whole, all".

gbugbwayé }
bubwayé }

Public, free, not secret, unrestricted.

Cf. SY gbōgbō, "whole, all", +

āyé, "the world".

igbale

Hunters' meeting-place.

Cf. SY īgbó-igbale, "grove where
the Egúngú appears".

igbedú

President's headquarters.

Cf. SY igbedú, "large drum which
is beaten to signify that a meet-
ing of the leaders of the commun-
ity is being called".

igberi

Recruit or applicant to join the Ode
Society.

Cf. SY egberi, ogberi, "person
not initiated into the religious
mysteries".

kafó

Thick woollen leggings, worn as part
of the Erí masquerader's costume.

Cf. SY kafó, "tight trousers
reaching to the ankles".

kékéré-agbá }
kekeré-agbá }

Treasurer of the Ode Society.

Cf. SY kékéré, "small", + agba,
q.v.

kobóko }
kokóbo }

Whip type, also called alágba, q.v.

Cf. SY kōbóko, "whip made from
penis of a bull".

kpadé

To meet another Hunter in the bush.

Cf. SY kpadé, "to meet, encounter".

kpatéwo

The cheers of the Hunters as they accompany the Erí masquerader in public.

Cf. SY kpātéwo, "applause".

mawo

To be initiated, familiarized with Ode Society ritual.

Cf. SY māwō (< mō, "know", + āwō,
q.v.), "to know a secret".

mariwo

Palm-fronds, used to decorate the entrance to the igbedú (q.v.) and the

Eri masquerader's costume.

Cf. SY mariwo, "palm, palm
leaves".

obí
obí-abata }

Cola nuts, cast upon the ogú during
consultation. They are also inclu-
ded in the Hunter's provisions on
an expedition.

Cf. SY ōbi, "cola", ōbi-abata,
"cola acuminata".

odžú

1) The eyes of the Eri masquerader;
2) The eyes of the deer at night,
seen reflecting light from the Hun-
ter's head-lamp.

Cf. SY ōdžú, "eyes".

ogú

The totem or oracle of the Hunting
Society. Also, its presence, or the
enclosure in which it is kept. This
may take the form of a piece of iron,
the skull of a dog, or a rock.

Cf. SY ogú, "a national god of

the Yoruba". The god of iron, blacksmiths, hunters and warriors; eater of dog's flesh and drinker of alcohol -- hence its forms, and the nature of its libations.

olugere

Wand or whisk, also called εša, q.v.

Cf. Y olugere, "a whisk", in Idžεša or Ekiti, the Oyo form being irukere.

olúkotú

The officer responsible for the activities of the Erí masquerader and the drummers.

Cf. SY ōlúkotū, "a title within the Hunting Society".

oníkere

The whisk held by the Erí masquerader.

Cf. SY ō ní irukere, "he has a wand". An irukere is the horse-tail wand which a chief holds in front of his mouth when speaking.

onísáwé

Gourd container for the sáwé, q.v.

Cf. SY oní-, "possessor of", +
sáwé, q.v.

omi

Water carried as part of a Hunter's provisions on an expedition. He may sometimes carry palm wine instead.

Cf. SY ōmī, "water".

omitútu

Rum or gin, cast upon the ogú during certain ceremonies.

Cf. SY ōmī-tútū, "liquor", lit.
"cold water". This has produced the calque trowé kol watá,
"spill cold water (i.e. gin)",
fig. "to pour libation".

orobí

Deer sp.

Cf. SY ōrōbī, "deer sp., ourebia nigricaudata".

obé

Hunter's knife.

Cf. SY obē, "any knife".

ode

Hunter; the Hunting Society.

Cf. SY ōdē, "hunter".

omo-ašíkpa

Vice-president of the Ode Society.

Cf. SY ōmō, "child", + ašíkpa,

q.v.

omolé

Root gin, illicitly-distilled liquor

drunk at the funeral of a Hunter.

Now in common use in Krio for illegally produced gin.

Cf. SY ōmólē, "gin", lit. "the child is strong".

otí

otí-otí

Same as omolé, q.v.

Cf. SY ōtí, "intoxicating drink".

saré

To run, flee.

Cf. SY sáré, "to run".

sáwé

The infusion of herbs in palm wine, in which initiates rinse their hands, and which is cast upon the ogú during

certain rituals.

The word is not Yoruba but Mende (See IV.1.4.2.), despite the fact that the ritual does occur in Nigeria and is of some importance to the Society.

súmámí

To rush off, beat a hasty retreat.

Cf. SY sumamí, "raid, foray", although the phonetically identical sú má mī, "come near to me", is tonally closer to Krio.

širé

To play and dance, in Ode Society usage specifically of the Erí masquerader and its attendants, but in common Krio to dance generally.

Cf. SY širé, "to play".

šokoto

Trousers worn by the Erí masquerader. Both this item and ašo are used in common Krio (See III.1.4.8).

Cf. SY šokoto, "trousers".

takitiméta

To tumble, perform acrobatics (of the Erí masquerader).

Cf. SY takiti métā, "three somersaults".

tangbá

To kick; the Erí masquerader will lash out with his foot at members of the public if they get too near.

Cf. SY taníkpā, "to kick",
takpá, "to kick to death".

wolé

To pack up and go home when Society business is done.

Cf. SY wōlé, "to enter a house".

yará

To be initiated into the Hunting Society. Also džárá, q.v.

Cf. SY yarā (< ya, "to separate", + ārā, "body"), "to cast off (old) body (and take on a 'new' one)".

III.1.4.2 Other societies.

Non-Hunting Creole societies in Freetown and the villages are less well-defined than the Ode Society, and information concerning them less readily available. The terms connected with all such organizations have been included together since the precise application of each to a particular society is not always known.

abánšólá
agbánšólá }

An Odžé Society masquerader.

Cf. SY ābāńsulu, "apostle",
ex English (although SY išólá
exists with the meaning "praise
name for male born after a
series of daughters").

agemo

A secret society (possibly now defunct).

Cf. SY āgēmō, "orisha worship-
ped mainly at Ijebu, performed
in secret and hidden from wo-
men".

aguda

An aggressive Alikálí masquerader.

Etymology unclear, but cf. SY

aguda "a Catholic; a Portuguese;

Africans returned to Nigeria

from Brazil".

ágba

alágbá

babá-ágba

A senior official in the Egúgú Society.

Cf. SY babá, "father; senior

male", + ālāagbāa, "senior

titleholder among the Egúngú".

alángbášá

A masquerader in one of the Muslim societies.

?Cf. SY ālàngbá + ?, "lizard".

alárugbé

A Gbegí masquerader who wears a beaded gown.

Cf. SY ālárugbé, "sleepy-head".

alíkálí

adikálí

adikádí

A society of youths, which appears

to have been set up in imitation
of the Ode Society, and to the
latter's disapproval.

The word is of Manding/Susu
origin, from Arabic al-qad,
"judge".

aró A secret society, now possibly defunct.

Cf. SY aró, "Ogboni title-
holder (1)".

atóku }
atókū } Escort in the Egúgú Society.

The name has been borrowed
from the Ode Society (q.v.).

awokó An Alikálí masquerader, dressed in red.
He dances in public, begging for money.

Cf. SY āwōkó, "chatterbox",
lit. a sp. of noisy bird.

babá-láwo President of the Igunu Society.

Cf. SY bābālāwō, "priest of

1) See Peterson (1969), pp. 266-269.

Ifá".

batá-okoto

An Oku dancing society.

Cf. SY batáā-koto, "drum

used at Gelede".

džará

To be initiated into the Alikálí

Society. Also yara, q.v.

Term borrowed from Ode.

džebú

An ugly, comical Alikálí masquer-

ader dressed in black. Also

called olpapá.

Cf. SY Idžebú, "Ijebu (sub-
tribe)".

egúgú }
ogúgú }
agúgú }

A society started by the Fourah
Bay Oku, with complex funeral rit-
ual.

Cf. SY egúngú, "masqueraders
from the spirit world" (ult.
from Nupe).

éyo

A society of important citizens
which meets once yearly.

Cf. SY éyo orū, "night festival
celebrating burial of a chief
citizen of the Awóri towns";
(SY orū, "night").

geledé

A society similar to Egúgú. Its
masquerader takes the form of a
beautiful woman.

Cf. SY geledé, "a masquerader
and its society (originally
from the Popo area)".

gbadógbadó

An aggressive masquerader.

Cf. SY gbádūgbádū, "fighting,
blows".

gbegí

An Egúgú masquerader, noted for its
lack of cleanliness.

Cf. SY olá-gbegí, "a title in
Owo (Ondo Province)", but Mende
has gbegi, "gorilla".

gbógbó

An Alikálí masquerader.

Cf. SY gbōgbō, "whole, all", and
this term under III.1.4.1.

igbale

Grove or meeting-place where the members of the Egúgú Society gather.

Word borrowed from Ode Society.

igunú

igunukú

gunukú

gunugúnú

ogunukú

ogunogú

Society of flagellants, whose masquerader has the power to change its size.

Cf. SY igūnnū, "an Egúngú from the Nupe region".

ilékéwú

A masquerader.

?Cf. SY ilé-kéwú, "Muslim school".

kékeré

A small Alikálí masquerader (usually a child).

Cf. SY kékéré, "small".

óro

A night masquerader.

Cf. SY ōro, "an Egba god".

oborómí

An Alikálí masquerader.

? Cf. SY oboró mī, "my plain clothes".

odžε

An Egúgú follower and his society.

Cf. SY odžε, "title in a family where Egúngú is worshipped".

talabí

A three-horned Alikálí masquerader.

? Cf. SY talabí, "name given to a female child born with ruptured membranes".

yara

See džará, s.v.

Word borrowed from Ode Society.

III.1.4.3 Plants and foodstuffs

It was the Yoruba, perhaps more than any other group, who gave Creole cuisine its distinctiveness, and who provided names not only for many items of food, both in their natural and their prepared states, but also for many aspects of cuisine generally (see III.1.4.4). They brought with them a knowledge of edible plants and their preparation far superior to

that of the community they found, and probably introduced them to many local plants hitherto not known to be edible. This is borne out by the very many species for which only a Yoruba-derived name exists in Krio ⁽¹⁾. In some instances an English-derived name may co-exist with one derived from Yoruba ⁽²⁾, while another group comprises names derived from Yoruba but applied to different species from those bearing the same name in Nigeria ⁽³⁾. A small selection of items is discussed here; fuller lists may be found

-
- 1) These include calqued forms, e.g. sidóm-sáful (SY džókǒ džéé, "cissampelos sp", lit. "sit down gently"), and it-dɔn-brok-plet/it-brok-plet (SY adžēfówō, "celosia sp.", lit. "that which is eaten, the plate (is) broken").
 - 2) E.g. aligéta-pepè/atare, "alligator pepper", brumston/odžú-ológbo, "chinchona", and the examples in fn. 1, supra.
 - 3) E.g. bara, ébolo, émina, iróko, oró and werekpé in the present list.

in Berry (1968), Deighton (1957) and Hancock (1971a).

abalá

Dish prepared from beans, palmoil,
etc., wrapped in leaves and steamed.

Cf. SY abalá, "Yoruba rice
pudding".

agidí

Porridge prepared from Indian corn.

Cf. SY agidí, "a term used in
broken English for ekō" (SY ekō,
"a solid food made from maize").

akara

Bean-flour fritter.

Cf. SY akara, "an oily cake of
beans ground and fried".

alākpa

Dish prepared from cowpeas.

Cf. SY alākpa, "type of food".

awusá

A nut-bearing creeper.

Cf. SY āwusá, "nut sp.".

bara

Watermelon sp., colocynthis citrullus.

Cf. SY bara, "watermelon sp.,
citrullus vulgaris". Mka also
has bara, "gourd sp.".

ébolo }
égbolo }

Green vegetable sp., crassocephalum
crepidioides.

Cf. SY ēbolo, "a pot herb, gy-
nura cernua compositae".

émina

Air potato, a vine sp., dioscorea
bulbifera, having a poisonous and an
edible variety.

Cf. SY ēmina, "root similar to
the sweet potato, plectranthus
floribundus labiatæ".

ewéyakukó }
ewéyakokó }

Indian heliotrope or whitehead-leaf,
a common ingredient in tonics.

Cf. SY ēwé-akukō, "Indian heli-
otrope, a weed used medicinally".

ebé

Hotpot.

Cf. SY ebē, "a dish of cut and
pounded yams, oil, pepper, on-
ions, etc."

efó

Generic name for vegetables.

Cf. SY efó, "any vegetable".

egúsi

Ground melon-seeds.

Cf. SY egúsi, "a food made from
seeds of melon".

garí

Coarse cassava meal.

Cf. SY garí, "cassava flour".

ikó }
ekó }

1) Guinea palm (raffia palm);

2) prepared raffia.

Cf. SY ikō, "fibre of raphia".

The palm itself is īgī-ogoro.

iróko

African teak, chlorophora regia.

Cf. SY irōko, "teak sp., chloro-
phora excelsa moraceæ". Sranan

and Ewe have loko, and Bini ulóko,
as tree spp.

kúkúndukú

Snack of fried sweet potatoes sold by
street vendors.

Cf. SY kúkúndukú, "fried potatoes
sold in the street to labourers".

kpokpondó

Red or white canavalia beans, eaten salted as a snack.

Cf. SY kpokpondó, "canavalia".

láli

Egyptian privet, henna, lawsonia alba, used cosmetically to stain fingernails.

Cf. SY láli, "henna".

ogiri

Strong-smelling preparation of sesame, which is soaked, pounded, boiled, fermented, salted and sold wrapped in agidi-leaves.

Cf. SY ogiri, "cooked egúsí".

ogi

Gruel or pap prepared from uncooked millet or corn, sold in bottles.

Cf. SY ēyī-ogi, "pounded maize soaked in water".

orí

Shea-butter, rubbed into the skin to promote warmth.

Cf. SY orí, "shea-butter".

obéyáta

Pepper soup, prepared with krenkré in separate pots, and then mixed.

Cf. SY obe-ātā, "pepper soup".

olele

Blackeyed peas, wrapped in agidi-leaves, and steamed.

Cf. SY olele, "pudding made from ground-up beans, oil, onions, pepper and salt, steamed in leaf wrapper".

oró

Cactus sp., euphorbia deightonii.

Cf. SY oró, "generic name for cactus".

tagíri

Rufus vine, adenopus brevifloris, a white-flowered parasitic creeper used by tanners to remove hair from hides.

Cf. SY tagíri, "rufus vine".

werekpé

Cow-itch, pachyrhizus erosus, a skin irritant.

Cf. SY werekpe, "flowering vine sp., mucuna pruriens or mucuna flagellipes, which causes considerable skin irritation".

III.1.4.4 Items connected with food, cooking and eating.

gbo

To mascerate or infuse, as of tealeaves or herbs.

Cf. SY gbō, "mash, squeeze" (hence

Krio/SY agbó, "herbal infusion").

kpetekpête

Mucilagenous, such as e.g. ockra.

Cf. SY kpetekpête, "slime".

okele

A portion of fufu taken into the fingers to be eaten.

Cf. SY okele, "morsel of any food".

šón }
šó }

To eke food out in order that it last longer or serve more people.

Cf. SY šó, "to eat food without the usual condiments, or without soup".

té

To thicken by gradual evaporation, of a stew cooking.

Cf. SY té, "to be level".

wéré
wéréwéré }

Left-over scraps of food.

Cf. SY wéwé, wéwēwé, "crumbs".

Jamaican has werewere, "small, insignificant things", Kwia

Temne a-wéré and Mende wélé,

"crumbs".

III.1.4.5 Animals, insects, fish.

The presence of Yoruba-derived names for many of Sierra Leone's living creatures may be attributed to several factors, not the least of which reflecting the fact that the Yoruba-speaking freemen in the Colony were more aware of local fauna than the population they met there. Names do not appear to have been applied to creatures which did not relate in one way or another to Creole life; thus rural Sierra Leoneans such as the Limba or Mende have a much larger vocabulary of animal- insect- and fish-names than city-dwelling Creoles, who come into contact with such creatures much less frequently. The following list can be shown

to consist of four main groups: Animals which are hunted (most of whose names are listed under the Ode Society, III.1.4.1), animals which are eaten (usually names of fish), animals to beware of (often names of insects and snakes) and animals whose behaviour may be taken as reflecting human behaviour, and which often occur in maxims and parables (such as lizards and frogs). At least two Yoruba-derived animal names are preserved in Krio without specific meaning, viz. adžanákú, "elephant", and idžakpá, "tortoise" (see III.1.3.2).

akeré

Toad sp.; simile for someone given to frequent urination.

Cf. SY akēré, "frog sp.".

agbádú

Python.

Cf. SY agbaádú, "snake sp.".

edžáro

Fish sp.

Cf. SY ēdžāro, "fish sp.".

idžaló

indžaló

} Soldier or driver ant.

Cf. SY īdžalō, "soldier ant".

kparamóle }
paramóle }

Red adder.

Cf. SY kparamóle, "red adder".

lakpálakpá }
lagbálagbá }

Ringworm.

Cf. SY lakpálakpá, "ringworm".

okotó

Snailshell or seashell.

Cf. SY okōtō, "snailshell".

owíwí

Barn owl.

Cf. SY owīwí, "nightjar".

oká

Viper.

Cf. SY ōká, "viper".

okpóló

Frog sp.; frog generally.

Cf. SY ōkpōlō, "toad sp.". .

Mende has kpóló, "frog sp.". .

omólé

Gecko lizard.

Cf. SY ōmólé, "gecko lizard".

tolótóló

Turkey.

Cf. SY tolótóló, "turkey".

Widespread in West African languages.

III.1.4.6 Anatomical terms.

Yoruba-derived anatomical terminology is less extensive in Krio, and appears to be derived from three main sources: The application of edible animal parts to the human body (e.g. fukfúk), the application of anatomical terms connected with society ritual to the human body (e.g. agbóri, mudumúdu, and possibly kókówése, kpakó), and from concepts more obviously African than European (e.g. dódó, dadá). The euphemism alágbadúdú may ultimately derive from society vocabulary, or simply be an example of conscious humour. Note that nearly all the terms listed below also have English-derived alternative forms.

agbóri

Cranium, skull.

Cf. SY āgbárí, "skull".

alágbadúdú

Penis.

Cf. SY lāgba-dúdú, "black whip".

dadá

Unusually thick head of hair on a newborn child (attributed to the fact that the expectant mother had

a dry cough during pregnancy).

Cf. SY Dadā, "name of a mythical king who had very curly hair".

dódó

Protruding umbilicus (one cause of which is said to be because the mother drank from a bottle during pregnancy).

Cf. SY idōdō, "navel (not necessarily protruding)".

fukfúk

Lungs, usually of an animal, especially a cow, but sometimes applied to human beings.

Cf. SY fukufúku, "lungs".

gongóngon

Gullet, windpipe. Also an adverb of manner describing noisy or gulping swallowing (i de swéla ram gongóngon, "he gulps it down").

Cf. SY gōgōngō, "larynx".

kókówése

Ankle-bone. See III.1.4.1.

Cf. SY kókó-ēse, "ankle bone".

kpakó Occiput, nape of the neck. See
III.1.4.1.

Cf. SY ikpakó, "nape".

mudumúdu Brain.

Cf. SY mudūmūdū, "brain, bone-
marrow".

rōdžú Plump, healthy, attractive.

Cf. SY rōdžú, "mild, soft of
countenance".

wató To drool.

Cf. SY wātó, "to dribble, drool".

III.1.4.7 Infirmities.

More Yoruba-derived terms relating to imperfections of the body exist in Krio than do Yoruba-derived anatomical terms generally. The bulk of these were probably adopted as disguised, if not euphemistic forms, the English names being considered too blunt or distasteful ⁽¹⁾. Practically none of these has an Eng-

1) Cf. Krio big-dadí as a euphemism for smallpox.

lish-derived synonym.

abuké

1) Hunchback.

2) Hunchback's hump.

Cf. SY ābūké, "hunchback" (the hump itself is iké).

adetí

Deaf person.

Cf. SY ādītí, "deaf person".

akróboto

Woman having a constricted vagina.

Cf. SY akíríboto, "constricted vagina", from the primary meaning "cola-nut which cannot be split".

akpárí

Bald-headed person.

Cf. SY ākpárí, "bald person".

alikperí

Water-crawcraw, a disease.

Cf. SY alikperí, "a curse".

džekute

Elephantiasis.

Cf. SY džakute, "elephantiasis".

ekúrú }
okúrú }

Mange.

Cf. SY ekúró, "mange".

gege

Goitre.

Cf. SY gege, "goitre".

gbó

To become wizened through age or
hard life.

Cf. SY gbó, "to become old"

(of animates).

okóbó

Impotent man.

Cf. SY okóbó, "impotent man".

A euphemistic form osiyó has
been derived from the first
three letters of this word
spelled English-fashion, i.e.
'ocobo'.

orobó

Hæmorrhoids, piles.

Cf. SY ōrōbó, "piles". This
is apparently a more serious
form of the complaint than
makrú (q.v. IV.3.4.5).

oka Cutaneous disease affecting the scalps of infants.

Cf. SY oka, "disease affecting the fontanelle of a baby, and pitting its head".

redžé Falling hair, supposedly resulting from excessive brushing or change of climate.

Cf. SY džē, "to fall", īrŭ re džē, "her hair fell out". The SY name for this complaint is ādžērŭ.

šá Sickly-looking, off-colour.

Cf. SY šá, "faded, unhealthy-looking".

šegede Mumps.

Cf. SY šegede, "mumps".

yoro Thrushmouth, aphtha stomatitis.

Cf. SY yoro, "thrushmouth".

III.1.4.8 People.

The majority of items belonging to this category

refer to individuals of negative character, e.g. a thief, a tale-bearer, a charlatan, etc., and may, as is the case for Yoruba-derived names for infirmities in Krio, exist as euphemistic or avoidance forms, or as part of the restricted vocabulary of social groups marginal to the main body of society (1). The second largest group of items in the following list is concerned with the nuclear family: husband, wife, mother, child. Some items (atóku, ogá), have been adopted into common Krio from Hunting Society vocabulary.

abíyámó

A mother, usually one who has recently given birth.

Cf. SY ābīyāmō, "woman having a baby small enough to carry".

1) Compare English cant or ziph, or French argot, many of whose terms may become part of the standard language in time (e.g. "mob", "posh", etc. in English).

adžé

A witch (also witchcraft).

Cf. SY adžé, "a witch". Ewe,Fon and Edo have adže, and Sra-nan aze, with the same meaning.arúba

A nickname for Syrian or Lebanese traders.

? Cf. SY arugba, "carrying loads

by turn, exchanging loads".

atóku

A nuisance, a hanger-on; one who

does not know when he is not wanted.

Term borrowed from the Hunting Society.

Cf. III.1.4.1.

átótó

1) Uncircumcized male;

2) uncircumcized penis.

Cf. SY ātōtō, "uncircumcized penis".gambarí

A Hausa.

Cf. SY gambarí, "a Hausa".iglowó

A wealthy person.

Cf. SY igī, "tree", + ōwó, "money".

ilénikwá

- 1) A disloyal person within the home community;
- 2) common name given to a pet dog.

Cf. SY ilé nī kúwa, "the house it is (where) death is".

krió

Sierra Leone Creole.

This item is far older than the ca. 150 years that the Yoruba have been in Sierra Leone, cf. Sranan kriyóro, but it has been included here as an item of interest, suggested as being Yoruba-derived by Nicol (1949), who traced the item to SY kīrī, "to walk about", + yó, "full or satisfied", and applied it to Creole children who "jump in the streets to walk about and play". The SY kīrīyó means "Christians", originally from Sierra Leone.

ofófó
bisabodí-ofófó } An inquisitive person.

Cf. SY ofófó, "tale-bearing".

A tale-bearer is SY ōlóofófó.

ogbófo A quack-doctor, charlatan.

Cf. SY ōgbóōfo, "wasted old age".

óle A thief.

Cf. SY ōle, "thief".

ológbo An insensitive person, thick-skinned person.

Cf. SY ōlógbo, "unfeeling person",
 from primary meaning "cat".

okú
okú
akú } A Creole of Yoruba descent.

Cf. okú, "corpse", one explanation
 (from an Oku Creole) being that
 the modern Oku are the descendants
 of the Yoruba whose corpses (oku)
 were buried in Saró (Sierra Leone)
 instead of Nigeria. Another sug-
 gested etymology is the now old

fashioned Yoruba greeting oókú
with which the Oku would greet
each other.

okúgbé

A worthless, wretched person.

Cf. SY okú-igbé, "corpse of the
bush", i.e. discarded in the bush.

ogá

Respected member of the community,
also employed as a jocular term of address. Term borrowed from Hunting Society.

Cf. SY ogá, "speaker's superior".

ogongošú

A stupid or ugly person or thing, used
in similes.

Cf. SY gongošú, "witless, ungainly".

oko

oko-yawó

Groom.

Cf. SY ōkō, "husband", oko-iyawó,

"bride and groom".

olókpá

Policeman.

Cf. SY ōlókpa, "policeman".

omo Child, especially in set expressions
such as omo dón bon tidé, "a child is
born to-day". More commonly pikín.

Cf. SY ōmō, "child".

tšekíri(-man) A person having an unusually thick and
wild head of hair.

Cf. SY išekíri, "Jekri people".

yawó Bride.

Cf. SY iyawó, "wife".

III.1.4.9 Clothing and adornment.

With the exception of one item (okónáaní) which
appears to be of local coinage, all of the items in
the following list are of Nigerian origin, and have
therefore not supplanted earlier terms to the extent
that this has taken place in other semantic areas.

agbádá Man's embroidered gown.

Cf. SY āgbádá, "type of gown".

adžanakú Tight trousers.

Cf. SY adžanakú, "elephant". Also
metaphor for anything big.

akéte

A battered or shabby hat.

Cf. SY akéte, "any hat". One of the few examples of a Yoruba-derived perjorative item in Krio.

ašo

Garments, clothing. Either adopted from Hunting Society vocabulary or else entered Krio independently.

Cf. SY āšō, "clothing".

ašobí

ašwebí

} Set of identical garments worn by women and girls at weddings, christenings, etc.

Cf. SY āšō-ēbí, "family dress".

agándásí

Male or female attire.

Cf. SY agandāsī, "man's loose, embroidered trousers".

bubá

Blouse type.

Cf. SY bubá, "blouse". This item also occurs in Manding, Mende and Limba.

eyé

Make-up, adornment.

Cf. SY eyē, "honouring, respect".

geremoššéké

Finery, regalia. Item adopted from Hunting Society vocabulary.

See III.1.4.1.

odžá

Cloth sling used to hold baby onto mother's back.

Cf. SY odžá, "cloth with which a mother suspends her baby on her back".

okónáaní

A pair of carpet slippers.

Cf. SY okō ná nī, "both are the same".

Not traced with this meaning in any Nigerian dialect of Yoruba.

šokoto

Ladies' bloomers. Possibly adopted from Hunting Society vocabulary, in which it retains a meaning closer to SY (Eri masquerader's leggings or trousers).

Cf. SY šokoto, "trousers".

tíra

A Muslim talisman.

Cf. SY tíra, "Islamic amulet".

tiró Kohl, antimony sulphide, used as eye shadow by women.

Cf. SY tiróo, "galena, used as a cosmetic".

III.1.4.10 Home and household.

Surprisingly few items connected with the home are Yoruba-derived, considering the profound influence the language has had in other domestic areas such as clothing and cooking. This may be attributed to the fact that Europeanized clothing and cuisine, besides being less easily acquired in nineteenth century Freetown, were less compatible with the environment, whereas the style of home life and the design of the homes themselves could more easily be adapted to the British ideal.

abúlé A hut or house.

Cf. SY ābúlé, "village".

adža Storage-space under the roof, usually over the kitchen.

Cf. SY adža, "ceiling".

kpétési }
akpétési } A storey-house.

Cf. SY kpetéesi, "storey-house",
(< English "upstairs" ?).

šukú }
šukú-bláy } Basket type.

Cf. SY šukú, "basket type", +
Ptg (See II.2.4.1).

okeyádža Storage space in loft above outdoor
cookhouse.

Cf. SY oke adža, "above the ceiling".

A variant of adža, supra.

okú-bláy A basket, lit. Oku basket.

Cf. SY okú (III.1.4.8) + Ptg.

(II.2.4.1).

omolanke Handcart for bringing goods from the
wharf into town.

Cf. SY omōlānkē, "handcart".

III.1.4.11 Topography.

Included in this category are items occurring in

Krio connected with physical aspects of the environment. Several of these are considered to be old fashioned items, and one, gerégeré, frequently occurs as a test-word, acquaintance with it indicative of a sound knowledge of Krio. Items in this category are few, and are largely concerned with the terrain. This suggests that they may have originated in Hunters' vocabulary, like so much of the Yoruba-derived content of Krio.

agbará Torrent of water, a flood, especially
in the storm drains.

Cf. SY agbará, "torrent".

akpátá Boulder or plateau, especially one
near water.

Cf. SY akpátā, "large flat rock".

gerégeré }
gedégedé } Rocky incline.

Cf. SY gerégeré, "precipitous,
sloping; rutted slope".

kotokótó }
kutukútú } Rocky or rough road.

Cf. SY koto, "pit, pothole".

kpekpékulé }
pepékulé }

1) Gravel, pebbles, grit;

2) ground china plate, used as an abrasive tooth-whitener.

Cf. SY kpekpēkulē, "gravel".

otútu

Coldness, in the expression otútu de wáya, "coldness is affecting (me)".

Cf. SY ōtútu, "coldness, wetness".

manamáná

Lightning. Rarely used, the more usual word being láytin.

Cf. SY manamáná, "lightning".

oyé

The Harmattan Wind. Rarely used, the usual word being amatán.

Cf. SY ōyé, "Harmattan".

III.1.4.12 Greetings and ejaculations.

A great many Yoruba-derived greeting formulas are still remembered, although their use appears to be sharply in decline. Most informants maintain that they are still to be heard from elderly Oku in areas inhabited by the descendants of the liberated Yoruba,

such as Fourah Bay, and especially from Muslim inhabitants of such areas. Of the following, only kábo ("welcome") and kúšé ("well done") enjoy anything like universal currency in Creole society.

adžé ó

Greeting to a trader.

Cf. SY ādžé, "money", + ó, q.v.

infra.

alágbadžá!

Name jocularly used to address an acquaintance (sometimes to refer to someone whose actual name has been forgotten or ought not be mentioned publicly).

Cf. SY ālāgbādžā, "jocular term of address", lit. "ostentatious person".

árámi

Term of address to a friend.

Cf. SY ārā̀ami, "my body". Compare this with the closing formula for letters: na mi, yu yon

pósin, "It is me, your own person".

ekúwaála

Greeting to someone in trouble.

Cf. SY ē kú wahála, "greeting to
one in trouble".

ibosí ó!

A cry for assistance.

Cf. SY ibosí ō, "a cry for help".

kábo

Welcome.

Cf. SY ē kú abo, "greetings on
your arrival".

kálé ó

Good evening.

Cf. SY ē kú áalé ō, "greetings
for the evening".

káró ó

Good morning.

Cf. SY ē kú âáro ō, "greetings
for the morning".

kúšé ó

Congratulations, well done.

Cf. SY ē kú išé, "greetings for
your work".

odžaré ó

Entreaty to a vendor that she be le-
nient in naming her prices.

Cf. SY ō džarē ō, "if you please".

ó

Spoken exclamation mark appended to many kinds of statement.

Cf. SY ō, "particle suffixed to greetings, etc."

olé ó

A word of sympathy, 'that's tough'.

Cf. SY ō lē ō, "it is hard".

Also calqued in Krio as i tránga.

ómašé ó

An exclamation of bewilderment.

Cf. SY ó ma šē ō, "that's a pity".

orewá ó

Goodbye.

Cf. SY o re wá ō, "au revoir; goodbye for the present".

okúwòdú

Common greeting at various Islamic festivals.

Cf. SY okú wòdú, "greetings for a festival".

ómómi

Mother's word of endearment for her child.

Cf. SY ōmō'mī, "my child".

óyá!

Exclamation of surprise or fear.

? Cf. SY ōyā, "the wife of Shango,
and goddess of the Niger".

šío!

Exclamation of spite or contempt.

Cf. SY šío, "exclamation of con-
tempt".

III.1.4.13 Personal names.

Yoruba names are still given to many Creole children, often irrespective of whether or not they are of Yoruba ancestry. These are called Okú-ném, os-ném, kontri-ném or Yórubá-ném, and while each has a meaning in the source-language, usually reflecting the circumstances of birth, not all Creole mothers are familiar with these and must often seek the advice of older or more knowledgeable persons. While in Yoruba some of these names are restricted to either male or female children, in Krio they seem to be applied to both sexes indiscriminately; an example is Bándélé, which

is a male name in Yoruba, but male or female in Krio. Most of these names are compounded, and have abbreviated forms. Such shortenings may apply to more than one full given name, thus Bólá may be Bóládé, Bóládží, Adžíbólá, etc., while Adé may be Adébísí, Adébáyo, and so on. When a Creole child is given a Christian (or English) name in addition to a Country name, the English name comes first, and may be the only name known to all but his family and intimate friends. The list of possible names is practically limitless; only the more commonly-occurring are listed here:

<u>Adébísí</u>	Cf. SY <u>ādébísí</u> , "the crown increased".
<u>Adébáyo</u>	Cf. SY <u>ādébáyo</u> , "the (new)comer met joy".
<u>Adé</u>	Short form for the above names.
<u>Ayná</u>	Cf. SY <u>ainá</u> , "name given to a girl born with umbilicus wrapped around the neck".

<u>Adžayí</u>	Cf. SY <u>adžayí</u> , "name given to a male child born face down".
<u>Alabá</u>	Cf. SY <u>alabá</u> , "name given to a child born next after <u>dowú</u> (q.v.)".
<u>Báyo</u>	Short form of several names containing this element, e.g. <u>adé-báyo</u> , supra.
<u>Bándélé</u>	Cf. SY <u>bāndélé</u> , "a male name".
<u>Bóládé</u>	Cf. SY <u>bóládé</u> , "came with honour".
<u>Bóládží</u>	Cf. SY <u>bóládží</u> , "awoke with honour".
<u>Bólá</u>	Short form for the above names.
<u>Akín</u>	Cf. SY <u>ākī</u> , "manly fellow".
<u>Áyo</u>	Cf. SY <u>āyò</u> , "joy".
<u>Ayódélé</u>	Cf. SY <u>āyòdélé</u> , "a male name".
<u>Déró</u> } <u>Díró</u> }	Cf. SY <u>ādéróūṅké</u> , "female name, 'the comer got something to pet'".
<u>Dowú</u>	Cf. SY <u>idowú</u> , "name given to a child born next after twins".
<u>Fúmi</u>	Cf. SY <u>fúmīláyò</u> , "female name".

<u>Káyndé</u> }	
<u>Kéyindé</u> }	
	Cf. SY <u>kéehindé</u> , "name given to one of a set of twins" (the other being <u>táíwo</u>).
<u>Lábísí</u>	Cf. SY <u>lábísí</u> , "a male name".
<u>Lábí</u>	Short form of the above.
<u>Moréniké</u>	Cf. SY <u>mōrénīké</u> , "female name".
<u>Modúkpé</u>	Cf. SY <u>mō dúkpé</u> , "I give thanks".
<u>Modú</u>	Short form of the above.
<u>Odžó</u>	Cf. SY <u>odžó</u> , "name given to a male child born with the umbilicus wrapped around his neck (cf. <u>Ayná</u>)".
<u>Olábísí</u>	Cf. SY <u>ōlábísí</u> , "honour increased".
<u>Táíwo</u>	Cf. SY <u>táíwo</u> , "name given to one of a set of twins (cf. <u>Káyndé</u>)".

III.1.4.14 Miscellaneous.

The extent of Yoruba influence upon Krio lexicon may be judged from the items included in this category. While it would be difficult to assign any one of them to the categories already discussed, many share a

feature apparent in III.1.4.8 (people), namely that they stand for negative characteristics or concepts, e.g. "to steal", "disgrace", "woe", "misfortune", etc.

abádžə

- 1) No wonder!, an exclamation;
- 2) unexpectedly, by chance luck.

Cf. SY ābádžō, "it is no wonder that...".

afodžúdi

Impertinence.

Cf. SY afōdžúdī, "insolence".

akpa

Extravagant with money.

Cf. SY akpa, "extravagant".

bəs (pan)

To come out at, e.g. a street.

Cf. SY bósí, "to come to".

Also English "burst"?

díyedíye

Gradually, little-by-little.

Cf. SY díedíe, "gradually".

džále

To steal.

Cf. SY džāle, "to commit theft".

eléya

- 1) Trouble;

2) disgraceful, shoddy.

Cf. SY ēléya, "contempt".

ēniyolá

Unspecified time in the future, an emergency, a "rainy day".

Cf. SY l'ésyī-olā, "in the future".

ešu

Bad times, woe, trouble.

Cf. SY ešu, "the name of a powerful orisha requiring constant propitiation".

fedí

To sit with the legs sprawled apart (also fitrí, ex English).

Cf. SY fedí, "to spread the legs".

kélékélé

Stealthily.

Cf. SY kélékélé, "stealthily".

kukuyá
kukuyéré }

As a matter of fact, in fact.

Cf. SY kúkú, "really, actually",

+ ?

lagbá

Huge.

Cf. SY lagbáa, "strong, tough".

lérí

To talk at length, talk to the extent of boring people.

Cf. SY lérí, "to boast".

okuta

Misfortune (term probably derived from market speech).

Cf. SY okuta, "unsaleable item".

šumú

To chupse, suck the teeth insolently or contemptuously.

Cf. SY šumú, "to suck the teeth".

tóbi

Big.

Cf. SY tóbī, "big".

yowó

To haggle, barter.

Cf. SY yōwó, "to beat down a price in bargaining".

III.2.0.0. HAUSA

Hausa-derived items in Krio are not numerous, despite the fact that Hausa is one of the principal languages of West Africa, and that its speakers constituted the fourth largest group of Recaptives in Freetown at the time of the 1848 Census.

III.2.0.1 For items in Krio attributable to Hausa, two possible sources need be considered: The language of the migrant Hausa traders in Sierra Leone, whose stay is often of short duration and who are peripheral to Creole society, and that of the Hausa Recaptives who were settled in the Colony in the 19th century. The former group are largely engaged in trading, and to a lesser extent in horse and cattle dealing (especially in northern Sierra Leone), and play little part in the affairs of the country. The latter group have now lost their Hausa identity and become creolized, although during the 19th century they were able to maintain some degree of cultural cohesion largely as a result of Islam. There has been no continued use of the Hausa language by descend-

ants of the Hausa-speaking Recaptives, although its use may have extended into the 20th century by non-assimilated speakers (1).

III.2.1.0 Hausa has been classified as a Chado-Hamitic language by Westermann and Bryan (2), and as an Afroasiatic (Chadic) language by Greenberg (3). Its main linguistic features include grammatical gender, nominal definite and indefinite forms, complex plural formation, two significant tones, a subject-pronoun system indicating tense, and a verbal system relying heavily upon suffixing and vocalic umlaut.

III.2.1.1 The outstanding feature of Hausa phonology is the presence of ejectives ([k'], [s'], [c'] and [k^w']), laryngealized stops ([ɓ̥] and [ɗ̥]) and the semivowel ([ɟ̥]), and the two r-sounds ([ɾ] and [ɹ], not normally

1) See III.0.0.0

2) Westermann and Bryan (1970), pp. 162, 170ff.

3) Greenberg (1966), pp. 42ff.

distinguished orthographically). These are the only sounds not occurring in Krio, and become approximated to the nearest Krio phoneme where items containing them occur in that language: Hau [ʔdán tʃíkí], "shirt type" > Kr [dánʃíkí], Hau [k'aŋk'áni], "small" > Kr [kaŋkani] or [kenkení], Hau [fúrá], "sweetmeat type" > Kr [fúyá].

III.2.2.0 Hausa items in Krio

The majority of Hausa-derived items are concerned with human beings and their behaviour. Clothing and adornment are also represented, while no animal or plant names have been located. The word meaning "corral" is probably of Hausa origin, while words connected with food include a sweetmeat sold by Hausa traders, the name of a food-drying rack (of possible dual etymology), and an ideophone (also of possible multiple etymology).

III.2.2.1 People

dogári

Messenger, right-hand man, batman.

Cf. Hau doogári, "chief's bodyguard".

gambarí

A Hausa.

Cf. Hau gambaríí, "style of Hausa shirt (typical of them)", via SY gambarí, "opprobrious term for Hausas".

III.2.2.2 Behavioural characteristics

fom

To pretend, act, bluff, pose.

Cf. Hau fóma, "to show off, act boastfully", with probable convergence from Eng perform or form.

gafára

To step aside, duck out of the way, dodge.

Cf. Hau gááfára, "excuse me".

gáta

To seize, grip, hold fast.

Cf. Hau gata, "to be strong".

wayó

Trickery, deception.

Cf. Hau waayó, "ingenuity, trickery", also adopted into

Yoruba, CP and Liberian English.

III.2.2.3 Anatomical

karamba

Wart (Berry, 1968).

Possible confusion with Krio karangbá, "skin lice" (< Mdg), but cf. Hau kaaraambau, "name of various skin infections -- crawcraw, smallpox, measles, etc."

langabáy

A tall, slim person. Also lángá, langalángá, "tall", lengeléngé, "long, thin, supple, etc."

Cf. Hau langalángá, "a tall person of slight build", + -bay (? < Eng boy, cf. grayn, pamáy, "groin", "palmoil").

tololí

Small boy's word for "penis".

Cf. Hau talóólóó, "penis, word used mainly by children",

or some (unlocated) similar
form.

III.2.2.4 Clothing and adornment

danšíkí }
dašíkí }

Shirt worn underneath the agbádá
(III.1.4.9).

Cf. Hau ʔdán tšíkí, via SY
dańšíkí, "gown which has wide
armpits, and which reaches to
the knees".

gambári

See this entry, III.2.2.1 above.

patá

Diaper, loincloth.

Cf. Hau pááta, fááta, "skin
of animal made into a loincloth
and worn especially by black-
smiths", and paataaríí, faataa-
ríí, "woman's loincloth".

salúbáta

Sandals made from disused car tires.

Cf. Hau salubba, "slipper" (<
Eng), + feminine subject suffix
-ta.

III.2.2.5 Food

bánda

Rack for drying fish, meat, etc.

Cf. Hau baandaa, "drying meat
or fish over fire". Possible
convergence from Eng dialect
band, "a wooden frame", + -a
(cf. ráfta, "raft", máta, "mat",
bólta, "bolt", etc.).

fúrá

Sweetmeat prepared from gbangure rice
fashioned into balls, and cooked in
sour milk.

Cf. Hau fúrá, húrá, "rice-balls
cooked in milk".

láu

Ideophone of having eaten completely:

i yít am láw, "he's eaten it all".

Cf. Hau lau, "ideophone of in-
tensity, especially of sleep
or health".

III.2.2.6 Miscellaneous

aníní

Small coin issued between the two World Wars, sometimes used as buttons or adornment (value one tenth of a penny), now obsolete.

Cf. Hau aníníí, "metal button; military officer's star; small coin".

kaṇkaní }
keṇkení }

Small, tiny, thin.

Cf. Hau k'aṇk'áni, "small".

džudžú

Magic, witchcraft.

Cf. Hau džuudžúú, "a fetish, evil spirit". Probable convergence with Mdg džu, "mauvais génie".

lóko

Jail, prison.

Cf. Hau lóóko, "dark recess, cubby-hole", probably a euphem-

ism (cf. also bóma, "jail",
< Burma, where West African
regiments fought, and which
is equated with risk, danger
or unpleasantness; Te has
similarly-derived ro-bóma,
an illicit diamond-mining com-
munity in Kono country).

sábábu

Malevolent forces, magic.

?Cf. Hau saabábuwaa, "a cause
of misfortune, ill, etc."

warí }
waré }

Cow-pen, corral.

?Cf. Hau wááre, "separated from",
šanuna suna waare, "my cows
have been set apart from others".
One informant suggests Fula as
the source of this item; but
this has not so far been located.

wayóyá

Alas! Alack!

Cf. Hau wâyóo, "my word", + ya.

III.2.3.0 Hausa items of Arabic origin

Several Hausa items with cognate forms in Krio are of ultimate Arabic derivation, and are listed under the appropriate entries in V.0.0.0. These include such items as adžáyíban, baníyádama, dúnya, džayánama, máslásí, sád-áká, tšesbí, etc.

III.2.3.1 Hausa items in Krio via Yoruba

Many Hausa items have entered Krio via Yoruba, and have the Yoruba phonological form. These are found in III.1.0.0 and include such items as garí, lalí, rikiší, etc. A smaller group are of Arabic origin, but may be more definitely attributed to an immediate Yoruba source (cf. III.2.3.0). These include alubósa, adúra, manáfikí, etc., and are also listed under the appropriate entries in V.0.0.0.

III.3.0.0 BIGHT OF BENIN LANGUAGES

Roughly one quarter of the tribal-linguistic groups representing the Liberated Africans were from the Bight of Benin area according to Koelle, and included amongst them between 30 and 40 languages. They arrived sporadically in small numbers between 1807 and 1859, forming their own Freetown and village communities where the inhabitants "until quite recently delighted in waging feuds with each other" (1).

III.3.0.1 The 1848 Census lists several Bight tribes as being resident in Freetown in fairly substantial numbers; indeed, the Igbo, with 1,231 representatives, were surpassed numerically only by the Yoruba, and in 1830 a missionary wishing to learn African languages for use in Freetown was advised to study Yoruba and Igbo, as being "particularly important" (2). Other tribes included the

1) Luke (1939), p. 62.

2) C.M.S. Archives O/180, letters of 10th March, 1830.

Calabah (i.e. Ibibio and Efik), 319 representatives, the Moko (all Cameroonian tribes) with 470 representatives, the Kakanja (Nupe and related tribes) with 163 representatives, and the Binnee (Benin, Ijo, etc.) with 107 individuals (1).

III.3.0.2 Upon first consideration it seems odd that being numerically so well represented in Sierra Leone, these languages have had practically no lexical influence upon Krio; but it was this very linguistic diversity which gave the Gulf of Guinea Pidgin English so firm a foothold in the area in earlier years. Widespread previous acquaintance with this pidgin by Recaptives from the Bight probably resulted in its continued use as the lingua franca by such communities in Freetown.

III.3.0.3 Few of the items discussed here are found in Cameroons Pidgin English, the main group of Coast Pidgin dialects and the best documented, while nearly 70 African-

1) Curtin and Vansina (1964), pp. 207-8.

derived items from Krio ⁽¹⁾ have been recorded in Cameroons Pidgin ⁽²⁾ (see introductory chapters).

III.3.1.0 Igbo

The most permanent legacy from Igbo into Krio has been in given names ⁽³⁾; those still still encountered in Krio include edžimá, "pet name given to either one of a set of twins, irrespective of sex" (Igbo also has the form edžimmá, "name of one who upholds the beauty of his or her family, community or race"), eketšúkú, "model of God's creation", ebeletšúkú, "I thank God for this child delivered in pain", wakákú (Igbo nwakákú), "a son is more precious than wealth", oketšúkú, "God's share", watšúkú, "God gave us a boy" and íké, "power" (cf. the

-
- 1) From languages not indigenous to eastern Nigeria or the Cameroons.
 - 2) By the writer (unpublished).
 - 3) These are discussed by Sawyerr (1940). It has not been ascertained whether families continuing the tradition of giving its members Igbo-derived names are conscious of having Igbo ancestry. The terms "house name", "country name", etc., are usually applied to those of Yoruba origin (see III.1.4.13).

Igbo compound names íkétšúkwú and íkénná). Sawyerr also lists ige, "born next after twins", but this was unknown to the informant. Other items of Igbo origin are:

ókro

Ockra, *hibiscus esculentus*.

Cf. Igbo dialect forms okuro,

okworo, okwulu and okolo. CP

has ókoro, ókró, ókolo.

kagbóna

Fried cassava, sold as a hot snack to labourers, by street vendors.

Cf. Igbo kagbona, "ditto",

(Sawyerr). Informant's dia-

lect has akpu for this item.

III.3.1.1 Bakweri

Bakweri, spoken in coastal West Cameroon, is a member of the Duala group of Bantu languages. It has provided Cameroons PE with many items, and it is probably via this, rather than from Bakweri direct, that the following single item is derived in Krio:

bándža

Thorax, sides of chest.

Cf. Bak mbandžoa, "rib".

Also CP mbándža, abándža,
bándža, "the sides immediately
under the arms". Not widely
known in Krio.

III.3.1.2 Bini

The Bini language exhibits a great many forms similar to Yoruba, and it is probable that it is from the latter language shared forms are more likely to have been derived. Examples include Bi ódó, SY ōdó, Kr odó, "mortar", Bi òmó, SY ōmō, Kr omo, "child", etc. This is substantiated by the general pattern of smaller language lexical adoption into Krio (III.0.0.0) and by the dissimilarity of tone between Bini on the one hand, and Krio and Yoruba on the other. Bini items with no located SY form include:

okoró

Monkey sp. Twins are forbidden to
eat this.

?Cf. Bi ògòlò, "monkey's tail".

óboro

Gourd.

Cf. Bi obwolo, "gourd" (Dalziel).

III.4.0.0 THE GHANAIAN CONTRIBUTION

Three linguistic groups are represented under this heading: Akan, Gã-Adangme and Ewe-Fõ, referred to in the Freetown Census of 1848 ⁽¹⁾ as Kromantee (which included Akan and Gã-Adangme; as well as several other minor languages spoken in the area) and Paupah, the present-day Ewe-Fõ of Dahomey and eastern Ghana.

III.4.0.1 At the time of the Census, the Paupahs constituted the third largest group in Freetown, being almost twice as numerous as the next largest group, the Hausa. The Kromantees (Akan and Gã-Adangme) ranked tenth in order of numerical size. These statistics are not highly significant, however, since the Census was only completed for the Freetown area, and many of the Liberated Africans were settled in the Peninsula villages, for which no survey was made. At this time the

1) Information taken from Curtin and Vansina (1964), pp. 207-208.

population of the entire Colony was 45,000, only 36% (18,190) of which were resident in Freetown.

III.4.0.2 Despite the historical and administrative links in the 19th century between Ghana (then the Gold Coast) and Sierra Leone, there is little evidence of any large-scale migration of people from the area to the Freetown colony. That Ghanaian-derived items are present in Krio may thus be almost wholly attributed to the presence of speakers of Ghanaian languages amongst the Liberated Africans and Jamaican Maroons: about one third of the items included here also occur in Jamaican Creole, whose cultural and linguistic links with what is to-day Ghana have been amply demonstrated ⁽¹⁾. While it would be an exaggeration to attribute the entire one third shared by Jamaican Creole to a Maroon source, some of these items undoubtedly were brought into

1) Cassidy and Le Page (1967). Many of these also occur in Sranan, and include anánsi (a spider character), warí (a board-game), gongosá (gossip), ko-kobé (leprosy) and óbia (witchcraft).

Krio via this route. Others may have existed in Krio prior to the establishment of the Colony, and have constituted part of the basic lexicon of the Proto-Pidgin, possibly being reinforced by the later arrival of speakers of these languages. This was not so in every case, however, since several Ghanaian-derived items still extant in other creoles have been lost in Krio, and are preserved in that language only in travelers' accounts (1).

III.4.0.3 Lexical influence from Ghanaian languages on modern Krio is slight. Speakers of such languages are for the most part fishermen, who have little social contact with the local population, or Ghanaian businessmen, who normally employ English.

III.4.1.0 The Akan (or Volta-Comoe) languages comprise the major dialect clusters Twi-Fante (including

1) Such items are listed here in quotation marks. Those from Clarke (1843) are followed by (C), those from Forde (1954) by (F), and those from Winterbottom (1803) by (W).

Asante), Anyi-Baule and Guang. Westermann and Ward ⁽¹⁾ list these as being spoken in southern Ghana, central Togo, and in the Ivory Coast north of the Lagoon group of languages, as far west as the River Bandama. The overall number of speakers runs into several millions.

III.4.1.1 The Gã-Adangme group is spoken to the south of the above, in south-eastern Ghana to the mouth of the Volta, to beyond Accra to the west. The three main distinguishable dialects within the group are Gã, Krobo and Adangme.

III.4.1.2 Ewe-Fõ, called Paupah, Popo, Krepe, etc., in earlier literature, is spoken in the extreme south-eastern corner of modern Ghana, and in Togo and Dahomey along the coast to the Nigerian border. It has several million speakers, and supports a vernacular literature.

III.4.1.3 Although the common membership of the Kwa

1) Op. cit., pp. 79-82.

sub-division of Niger-Congo has been questioned, the languages dealt with in this chapter share the following typological features: A general tendency to vocalic harmony, significant tone (which is almost exclusively lexical in Ewe, but lexical and grammatical in other languages), reduplication both as a grammatical and semantic device, frequent occurrence of compound nouns, lack of gender system, lack of class system (although some affixation, especially in Twi), lack of verbal derivatives, and the basic simple sentence word order Subject-Verb-Object.

III.4.2.0 Twi phonology.

The phonology of just one Ghanaian language, Twi ⁽¹⁾, is discussed here, since this language has contributed to the lexicon of Krio to a greater extent than have other languages from the same area.

1) Adapted from Christaller (1933), pp. xvi-xix.

III.4.2.1 Twi phonology: The consonants.

The following is a description of the phonemes of Akuapem Twi, upon which Christaller's Dictionary is based, and which serves as the principal literary dialect of the language. Items cited in the accompanying lists from Akuapem Twi are preceded by the word Twi only.

	Bilabial	Dental	Denti-labial	Alveolar	Palatal	Palato-labial	Velar	Labio-velar
Plosive	p b			t d	c ɟ	tw dw	k g	kw gw
Fricative		s	f		h ɕ	hw/fw		
Affricate		ts dz						
Nasal	m	n			ɲ	ɲw	ŋ	
Tap				r				
Lateral				l				
Approximant						ʋ		w

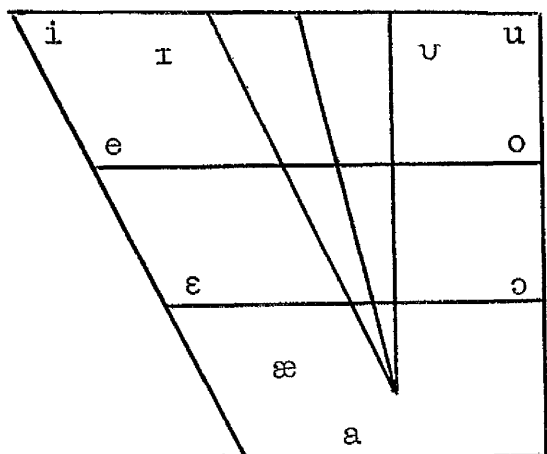
Note that [ɕ] (orthographic hy) occurs as an allophone of /h/, /ɲ/ varies freely with [n] and [m], [c] and [ɟ] are orthographic ky and gy respectively, /n/ may vary freely with [d], [r], [m] and [ɲ], and [ɲ] is orthographic ny. The phoneme /r/ (i.e. [ɾ]) is not

indigenous to Twi, but occurs in lexical adoptions.

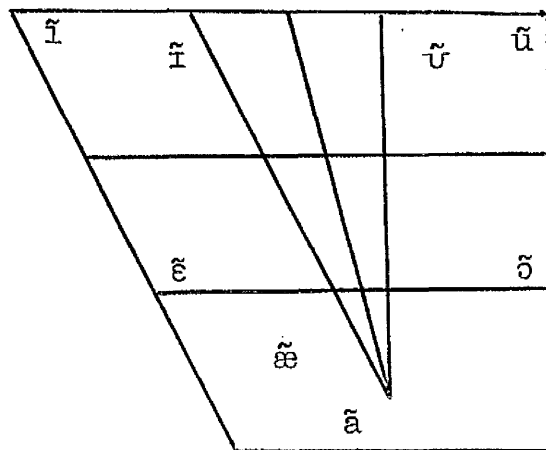
[w̃] is a palato-labial sound approaching [w+y]. The sounds [kp̃], [gb̃], [t̃], [ɣ̃], [l̃], [ṽ] and [z̃] occur only in western dialects of Twi. When certain consonants are in sequence, one or more of them may undergo assimilation; thus m + b becomes mm, n + d become nn, n + g + y become nyy, n + d + w become nnw̃ (via *nnw), etc., although this phenomenon is not constant for all the dialects.

III.4.2.2. Twi phonology: The vowels.

Oral



Nasal



All vowels except [e] and [o] may be nasalized, although [ɛ] and [ɔ] seldom are. The phoneme /u/ has the phonetic value [y] in the diphthong /ũa/ (1).

III.4.2.3 Twi operates a three tone system, viz. high, mid and low, plus rising and falling. High-tone nouns may become low-tone in conjunction with some (mostly high tone) adjectivals, diminutive or personal suffixes, or in nominal compounded forms. All monosyllabic verbs (2) carry low-tone in the present tense, whereas all disyllabic verbs are low-high. In the continuative aspect monosyllabic verbs become low-tone bearing, and disyllabic verbs low-low throughout. An accessory low-tone is added to verbs to express interrogation (3). As has been done elsewhere, the

-
- 1) The diacritic ~ is an orthographic device indicating extra shortness of vowel.
 - 2) With the exception of the monosyllabic verb gé, "to be good".
 - 3) Tonal description taken from Christaller, op. cit.

following notational modifications for representing tone have been made: High tone = bá, orthographic bá, mid tone = bā, orthographic ba, and low tone = ba, orthographic bà. Rising and falling are indicated by bǎ and bâ respectively.

III.4.3.0 Ghanaian vocabulary in Krio: Phonological modification.

Lexical items adopted from Ghanaian languages have without exception adapted to Krio phonology. Such modifications may however have taken place during the indirect passage of an item into Krio; some, such as Krio krenkré, and possibly kongosá and kotokú, may have entered via some other creole dialect rather than directly from Ghana, the modifications having already taken place by the time that these items eventually reached Freetown Krio.

III.4.3.1 Vocalic divergencies.

Too few examples are apparent to establish many regular patterns of vocalic divergence, although the fol-

lowing are recurrent:

a) Loss of initial vowel

bóbó }
abóbó }

Sp. of mucilagenous broadbean.

Cf. Twi ābōbōé, "kind of bean".

piní

To groan or sigh, as in childbirth.

Cf. Twi ō-pēné, "groaning".

sapó

Loofah (*luffa cylindrica*).

Cf. Twi ō-sā-pów, "loofah".

The same feature has been noted for Krio items adopted from class-prefix-bearing items from Temne (see IV.2.3.6).

b) Simplification of semi-vowel

butú

To stoop.

Cf. Twi būtūw, "to overturn".

mereméré

Effeminate, dandified, cissified.

Cf. Twi mmérɛw, "effeminate".

sanká

Cheap, shoddy (of merchandise); also

sanká-marún (<Eng "Maroon"), a fool.

Cf. Twi sīankā-āsē, "degenerate".

sapó

Loofah.

Cf. Twi ṣ-sā-pów, "loofah".

wowó

Ugly.

Cf. Twi wōwów, "cold; ugly".

c) Difference of vowel

The only recurring vocalic shift appears to be
Twi /e/ : Krio /i/.

alifudí

Free, gratis (especially of food).

Cf. Twi ālífūdé, "cheap or unpaid-
for things, especially food".

piní

To groan, sigh.

Cf. Twi ṣ-pēné, "groaning".

warí

Game played with board and counters.

Cf. Twi warē, "board game".

III.4.3.2 Consonantal divergences.

Although many items exhibit consonantal divergence
from Twi and other Ghanaian languages, none occurs more
than once, and no patterns can be established. Such
divergences as have been noted are to be found in the

semantic lists (III.4.4.0).

III.4.4.0 Ghanaian vocabulary in Krio: Semantic areas of adoption.

The greatest number of Ghanaian-derived items in Krio relate to the human body and its ailments, and to human behaviour ⁽¹⁾. Of the ca. 50 items listed here, five no longer exist in Krio, and may have been in use only by the somewhat transient Maroon community, when they were recorded between 1803 and 1843 in Freetown ⁽²⁾. Several other items appear to have alternative derivations, which have been noted in addition to the possible Ghanaian etymology.

1) Of a total of 65 collected similes in Krio, all but seven refer to physical and behavioral characteristics.

2) According to Butt-Thompson (1952) p. 30, within 20 years of their arrival in Freetown many of the original Maroon settlers had left the Colony and gone to the Gold Coast, or back to Jamaica. A West Indian regiment was stationed in Freetown for most of the nineteenth century, however (See Chapter I).

III.4.4.1 Persons

With the exception of bobó, all of the following items are derogatory, and as such reflect the common tendency in Krio of adopting approbrious terms from African languages to a greater extent than from English.

"asinu" (W) A fool.

Cf. Twi ē-sónō, "elephant".

Probably Maroon vocabulary; JC has asunu, "elephant (in stories), hence big, ungainly fool".

bobó A little boy.

Cf. Adangme bobó, "little", with Krio pikín, "child", ex Ptg pe-
quenho, "little".

búfa Fool, buffoon.

Cf. Twi ō-bófó, "miscreant", ō-bo-fũro, "lazy, good-for-nothing fellow", and ō-būfó, "a sloven, dirty fellow". Cf. also English

buffle, buffoon, buffer, Ptg bufo,
 "funny, comic", Fr buffard, "a
 clown, fool", and JC bufu-bufu,
bufro-bufro, "a clumsy fool".

bufubúfu

See last.

dogó

dokó

dogó-sláys

A foolish person.

? Cf. Ewe dogo, "poor, destitute",

Twi ē-dōkū, "monkey", + Eng slice.

III.4.4.2 Body parts and afflictions

bāfá

To be sickly (of a child) due to the
 parents engaging in coitus during the
 period of lactation.

Cf. Twi bāfān, Akyem bafané, Ewe

bafá, "lame from birth", JC bafan,

"baby slow to walk".

butú

- 1) To bow down, make obeisance;
- 2) To fall face downwards;
- 3) To submit to another in a parlour
 game.

Cf. Twi būtūw, Akan būtū, Ewe bútu. "to overturn, capsize", and Gã butu, "to lie upside down", JC bútu, "stoop down".

"cacabay" (W)

A disease.

Cf. Twi kōkōbé, "leprosy".

Also JC, Sra and other West Indian creoles.

gbó

To become wizened, aged.

Cf. Gã gbo, "to fade away, expire, become ineffective, be old, infirm, weak". Also SY with similar meaning.

kekrebú }
kekerebú }

- 1) Dead;
- 2) To die;
- 3) To wither, harden, atrophy, of fruit, leaves, etc.

?Cf. Gã kekere, "dry, stiff", + bu, "to befall, end, turn out

badly". First recorded by J. Atkins from Cape Mesurado as "kikatavoo" in his A voyage to Guinea... York (1737). SY has kékéré, "small", and Gullah has bu, "dead". Sawyerr (1940) considers this to be a transference of meaning from the Kru item, which he cites as kekerebu and glosses as the "dance of death". This was unknown to the two Kru-speaking informants consulted for this thesis. Schuchardt (1914) has kickeraboo, cockerapeak, as West Indian forms (p. 118), and Hotten (1864) has kickeraboo, "Dead. A West Indian negro's phrase... 'kick the bucket', of which phrase it is a corruption" (p. 164). This is also the derivation offered by Lentzner (1892, p. 96). This would appear to be a case of folk-etymologization of an

original African item.

krɔkrɔ

Crawcraw, scabies, skin-fungus.

Cf. Ewe krakra, "an irritating cutaneous disease". Eng craw-craw is listed as deriving from Negro Dutch kraauw, "to scratch", according to the SOED, but a Creole English source is more likely.

mumú

A mute.

Cf. Twi ē-mūmúú, múm, múmú, "a mute, deafness and dumbness". Widespread in West African languages: Mende mumú, Vai múmu, Mka mumuno, Ewe mumu, all with same meaning. Also Ptg mumu, mumo, JC, Sra and general Caribbean mumu.

píma

Vulva.

Cf. Twi ē-pím, "clitoris".

Also JC, Sra, CP.

piní

To sigh, groan as in childbirth.

Cf. Twi ō-pēné, "groaning".

Note change of form-class.

pupú

1) Fæces;

2) To defecate.

Cf. Twi pōpōēéwó, "the first
fæces of an infant". Also
Wolof pup, "to defecate (of
a child)", JC, CP and wide-
spread western European lan-
guages.

šá

Sickly-looking, off-colour.

Cf. Gã ša, "to become spoiled".

Also SY, q.v. III.1.4.7.

yos

Yaws, frambœsia.

Cf. Twi gyatō, "yaws", also

JC yaa, yaazi, Sra yási (Twi
etymology proposed in DJE).

bobáw

Carefree, rash.

?Cf. Twi kyīm ā-bóbáw, "one trying to get ahead of another in order to see something".

džagadžágá

Untidy.

Cf. Ewe dyagadyaga, "sprawled out, spread out". Also JC with Krio form and meaning.

kítíkítí
kítíkata }

Scurryingly.

Cf. Twi kitikiti, "clattering, pattering, rushing furiously".

kongosá

- 1) Gossip, backbiting;
- 2) To gossip (out of subject's presence).

Cf. Twi ḡkōnkōnsá, Gã kəkōnsá, "lying, duplicity". Also JC, Sra and widespread Caribbean, (Trinidad, Barbados, Tobago), CP.

kuskás

Contention, rowdy confusion.

Cf. ST kasákàsa, "dispute,

row". Also Eng "cuss", JC

koskos, kaskas, "argument".

kpókpó

To maul, hug, manhandle.

Cf. Gã kpokpo, "to shake".

mará

In the phrase mek mará, to act with pretended coyness in order to be noticed.

Cf. ST mara (< me ara), "it

is I", with Krio mek ayám

(< Eng make 'I am'), "to

act authoritatively".

mereméré

1) Dandified, cissified,

2) Childish showing-off.

Cf. ST mmérèw, "meek, mild;

effeminate".

prempré

kín-prempré

A grand person.

Cf. ST Asantehene Prempeh I,

"name of a paramount chief
of the Ashante, who was ex-
iled between 1896 and 1924".

saŋká

Cheap, shoddy (of merchandise);
also saŋká-marún (< Eng "Maroon"),
"a fool".

Cf. ST siàŋka-ase, "degen-
erate".

tšakrá

To be or become wildly excited,
berserk; incite others to mis-
chief.

Cf. Gã sakasaka, tšakatsšaka,
"disorderly", Ewe tsáka, Gě
tyáka, "to mix, be mixed".
Also JC tšakra, tšakatšaka,
CP tšakara, tšakala and Li-
berian tšoklá, all with
same meaning, and Fula tšik-
rá, "drunk" (< Arabic).

tšéntšentšé }
tšéntšentšé }

Smartly-dressed.

Cf. ST ntsen-ye-ntsen, "to be proud", tsětsě, "to become straight, good, right", Gã džandžandžan, "smartly".

tu }
tun }

To fasten, keep in a place (of persons).

Cf. ST tèw, "to fix, plant, set", tua, "to be stuck, fixed, fastened". Also Mdg to, tu, "to leave, remain".

wowó

Ugly, unattractive.

Cf. ST wowów, "cold, ugly".

Also Hausa wawa, "foolish".

First recorded for Sierra Leone in Clarke (p. 44), and for Calabar in Forde.

Listed By Cruickshank (1916) for British Guiana.

III.4.4.4 Animals

Few animal names of Ghanaian origin are to be found in Krio. Of the three listed here, none has been conclusively shown to be derived from ST, and the proposed etymologies are to be regarded as merely tentative. All three are mammals; it is surprising that no names of fish derived from Twi or Gã have been located in Krio, considering that many fishermen in Sierra Leone are Ghanaians.

angwantíbo

West African lemur (this item is not widely known).

?Cf. ST o-guantén-ba, "lamb",
o-guan-tén, "sheep", o-guán,
 "sheep, goat".

fritámbo }
flitámbo }

Duiker, chevrotain (antelope sp.).

?Cf. ST and Gã o-fròté, o-flòté, "antelope sp.", + ST àbóa, pl. mbóa, mmóa, "animal, beast", or ST o-trómmôô, "antelope sp.". First re-

corded in Clarke (p. 117) as "fil-
lemtambah". Mende filitámbo appears
to be Krio-derived.

pekró

Small squirrel-like mammal.

Cf. ST abekurá, "mouse living on
palm nuts". Also Mende pekulo,
"bush cat, muskrat"?

III.4.4.5 Plants

As might be expected, plants with Ghanaian-derived names in Krio are used either in cooking or medicinally. Because the names are Ghanaian-derived, it may be assumed that they were introduced by Ghanaian settlers, except in those cases where the names are demonstrably of Jamaican Maroon origin (e.g. kokó, krenkré).

Two of the following no longer occur in Krio. Of the remaining five, all but one are used as items of food.

"boony boony" Frankincense. (C).

?Cf. ST bəŋ, "to emit an odour or
particular scent".

bóbó
abóbó
obóbó }

Mucilagenous bean sp. resembling
broadbeans.

Cf. Twi ābōboé, "kind of bean",
Gã aboboi, "a bean dish", Ewe
bòbõ, "food consisting of boiled
beans".

kokó

Coco-yam, *xanthosoma saggitifolium*
(taye, tannia, tayonne, yautia).

Cf. Twi kóókó, kōókó, "any of
three kinds of edible root".

Dalziel (1937) states that this
item was brought to the Gold
Coast from the West Indies in
1843. Also Bini iyokho, "coco-
yam".

krenkré
krenkrén }

Corchorus olitorius, a mucilagenous
vegetable sp. also known as bush
ockra, Jew's mallow or long-fruited

jute. The name also applies to the hibiscus sabdariffa, also called Guinea or Jamaica sorrel, red sorrel, sour-sour, roselle or oseille de Guinée.

Cf. Twi kyērénkyé, "basket", as the source-word for JC kreng-kre or kreng-kreng, "a basket". JC also has kreng-kreng kalalu, "mucilagenous plant sp., probably ockra" (cf. Krio names which include 'bush ockra' and 'Jamaica sorrel'). This latter was brought to Sierra Leone, although the second element has not survived (1).

-
- 1) A further geographical and semantic shift has taken place in Cameroon Pidgin, where the Krio-derived

lu
lu-búš }

A spiny plant, the leaves of which are wrapped around the forehead as a cure for headache.

?Cf. Ewe lu, "spiked millet".

"melley" (C)

Gris-gris tree.

Cf. Twi á-méré, "tree used as a medicine". For further examples of the vowel correspondence Twi /e/ : Krio /i/, see III.4.3.1.c.

item has acquired the form keriŋkeriŋ or keriŋkéri (Schneider, 1960), and the sole meaning of "slippery". Significantly, JC, Krio and CP each have two free variants, one with and one without a final nasal; but the strong possibility of convergence with a form from a local indigenous language is suggested by the widespread occurrence of the item in Sierra Leone, in each case meaning either "bush okra" or "red sorrel": Temne keriŋkériŋ, Mende ngéngé, Sherbro kriŋkrin-de, Kissi yo-ngengeyo, Limba keriŋkere, Koranko kiliŋkilā and (Sierra Leone) Maninka kiriŋgere or kiriŋkilā.

III.4.4.6 Food and drink

agbakrá }
akpakrá }

Illegally-distilled spirit.

Cf. Gã akpakrá, "locally
distilled gin".

alifudí

Free, gratis (especially of food).

Cf. Twi ālīfūdé, "cheap or
unpaid-for things, espec-
ially food".

atšúmo

Fried dough-chips, served at par-
ties, etc., also called tšintšín.

Cf. Twi átwémo, átwúmo for
the same item. Abrahams
lists atšámo in Hausa as "a
type of Yoruba pastry", but
no similar form has been lo-
cated in the latter language.

fufú

Cassava paste, a staple food of
the Creoles.

Cf. Twi fūfūú, Gã fufu, fufui,

"foofoo". Similar forms are found throughout West Africa meaning "white" (e.g. Limba fufu, SY fũfũ). Also widespread amongst Atlantic creoles, Sr, JC, Puerto Rico, etc.

kúrá

Completely (eaten), as i don it am k~

"he has eaten it completely".

Cf. Ewe kurá, "completely".

III.4.4.7 Home and household

At least three of the items listed here occur in Sranan and/or Jamaican Creole, and must have been adopted into Creole culture very early on: katá, kotokú and warí. Others, such as kenté and petési (ult. English) are of much more recent provenance. While the presence of alí (a fishing net) is understandable (see III.4.0.3), it is surprising that terms connected with the fishing industry, and for species of fish, are not more numerous from Ghanaian languages into Krio.

alí
alí-nét }

Fishing net type.

Cf. Twi, Gã alí, "fishing net".

katá

Head-carrying-pad.

Cf. Twi katá, "to be covered",
ḡkātā-hó, "a covering". Also
JC káta, kóta, Sara àkàtā, To-
bago kata. Probable conver-
gence from Bantu khata (see III.
5.0.0.0).

kenté

Type of cloth imported from Ghana.

Cf. Twi and Gã kēnté, "country
cloth".

kotokú

Coin-purse, money-pouch.

Cf. Twi and Gã kōtōkú, "pocket,
pouch, money pouch, bag".

Also Soko koto, Kikongo ḡkutu
(see III.5.0.0). First recorded
in Sierra Leone in Clarke (1843)
p. 36, as "kooti koos".

petési
akpetési }

Storey-house; upstairs.

Cf. Gã kpataši, "under-roof".

Also SY (ultimately from Eng "upstairs"). In Krio, Gã, SY and Liberian English (ɔpstiez)

the word is also used for illegally-distilled liquor.

sapó

Loofah (*luffa cylindrica*, loofah gourd, vegetable sponge, cource torchon), adopted from Krio both by Mende sapó, safó and Temne sapó. Also Krio sapó-ókrɔ, "*luffa ægyptica*, smooth loofah".

Cf. Twi ɔ-sā-pów, ɔsāfó, "loofah". First recorded in Krio by Clarke (1843) p. 143, as "sapo".

warí

A game played on a board having 12 hollows, with counters (Krio sid).

Cf. Twi warē, "board game".

Also Kikongo wadi (III.5.0.0.0).

Widespread in New World creoles;

Sr. JC, Gu, etc.

III.4.4.8 Miscellaneous

bebrebé }
beberebé }

Plentiful.

Cf. Twi bēbērēbé, "much, many".

daš

A tip, gratuity; to tip.

Cf. Gã dasé, "thank you". This

is paralleled in CCP "cumshaw"

[kamšɔ], "tip", from Chinese

kam tšia, "grateful thanks".

dotí

Dirt, earth, soil; dirty.

Cf. Twi doté, "soil, earth, clay".

For change of second vowel see

III.4.3.1c. Convergence from

Eng dirty, SY dotí. Also Sr, JC,

Gu.

entí

Indeed, really, surely.

?Cf. Twi éntí, "therefore, on that account". Cornish dialect has ain't-ee (< ain't it) (EDD) with the meaning "indeed"; also Gu enti, Liberian English éne.

manyamanya

Ruined, broken, scattered, smashed.

Cf. Twi mānyāmānyā, "disorderly, scattered".

nasó

That is why, that is how; thus.

?Cf. Gã nasó, "moreover". Krio form is probably na (copula verb) + so ("so").

nyakanyáká

Gooey, messy, soggy.

Cf. Twi nyākā-nyākā, "cut into pieces". Also JC nyaka-nyaka, "muddy, sloppy, disorderly, ragged".

"obi" (W)

Witchcraft.

Cf. Twi ōbāyī-fó, "sorcerer", Akan

abayide, "witchcraft, sorcery".

Also Sr, JC obia, Martinique Cr

Fr obiah, "sortilège".

pítípítí }
pípípí }

Trickling, squirting, in spurts, e.g.

di watá de komót p~, "the water is

coming out in spurts".

Cf. Twi pii, pítípítí, "much,

continuously". Twi and Krio forms

possibly both adopted from Piti-

nègue or French petit-petit; cf.

Te pethipethi from same source.

se

Conjunctive relative pronoun following

verbs of communication or mental pro-

cesses before an object clause (a bin

mamba se yu don go, "I thought you'd

gone", una no se a sik, "you know I'm

unwell").

Cf. Twi se with same meaning.

A calque from African grammatical

use of the particle, which is nearly always identical with the verb meaning "talk" or "say".

Sr has taki (< Eng "talk"), JC and Gu have se.

tšer

To tear, slice, rip, rend.

Cf. Gã tšerɛ, "to rend", also Eng "tear".

tšetšɛ

To slice, hack

Cf. Gã tšɛ, "to tear apart", also Eng "tear".

túmba

Type of large percussion instrument, drum type.

Cf. Twi atũmpán, Ewe tímbo, JC tumba, tumbe, Cuban Spanish and Papiamentu túmba, as names of drum types or dances to accompany drumming.

III.5.0.0 WESTERN BANTU

The name Atam was given in Freetown to all Liberated Africans, regardless of linguistic affiliation, who came from the West African coastal area between Gabon and Angola. They constituted one of the earliest and most cohesive Recaptive groups in the Colony.

III.5.0.1 Circa 1810, forty-two Atam were brought to Freetown, all originally from Cabinda at the mouth of the River Congo ⁽¹⁾. A settlement was established on Signal Hill, on the site of an earlier Temne village, and named New Cabenda; but by 1816 their desire for a coastal environment resulted in the establishment of Congo Town, on land purchased from a Maroon woman, at the mouth of the Congo River (in reality little more than a creek) in Whiteman's Bay. By 1819, work had begun on the erection of a stone church, partially financed by the community

1) Details concerning the Atam in Sierra Leone are from Fyfe (1962), pp. 115, 120, 293, 504 and 546.

itself, and a local resident was teaching at the settlement's school.

III.5.0.2 Wherever they went, the Congo had a strong sense of tribal, and especially linguistic, unity. Kikongo is one of the very few African languages to have survived in the New World into the 20th century ⁽¹⁾, and its lexical impact upon such creoles as Saramaccan, Palanquero, Haitian, Principiense and Jamaican has been considerable. As late as 1850 Congo and Loko were engaged in fighting, motivated by tribal pride, at Kent Village. To-day no such animosity exists, and few Creoles of Congo ancestry are aware of the provenance of their forefathers except perhaps in Congo Town itself, where traces of the language reportedly still exist. One informant, a middle-aged woman from that district of Freetown, has been able to

1) See Hancock (1969), p. 20. Congo language influence upon the Gulf of Guinea creoles and Guyana Creole is being studied by Ferraz (University of the Witwatersrand) and Bickerton (Universities of Georgetown and Lancaster) respectively.

provide several sentences learned from her grandmother in what she calls Congo. The examples collected demonstrate no immediate connection with Kikongo or Mbundu however ⁽¹⁾, and clearly more research needs to be undertaken on residual languages in Freetown before a definitive statement can be made regarding their affiliation and distribution.

III.5.1.0 Most, if not all of the Liberated Africans loosely called Atam, spoke Bantu languages; but of the items discussed here identifiable as Bantu, just two dialect groups appear to be represented, viz. Kikongo (Ki) and Mbundu (Mb).

III.5.1.1 Kikongo exists in a great many dialects; over 100 have been listed ⁽²⁾ spoken over an area including

1) These include the following: tìtí dî gû, "bring water", yà kà zimbà, "give me bamboo", zimbà, "bamboo", and mánámáná tíngwàk kwèlélè, "one boy and one girl are dancing".

2) Bryan (1961), pp. 56-62.

the Middle Congo, Angola and the Congo Republic. One variety, known as Congo commercial, Fiote, Ikeleve or Kileta ("langue de l'état"), has become the lingua franca of the area, and is commonly used by missionaries, government agents, traders, etc.⁽¹⁾. The number of speakers of all Kikongo dialects runs into several millions.

III.5.1.2 Mbundu or Kimbundu is spoken only in Angola; a distinct but related language, also called Mbundu, is spoken further south in the same country, by perhaps two million people. Numerically the most important dialects within the Mbundu group are Ngola and Njinga, having ca. 1,000,000 speakers between them. The remaining Mbundu dialects number a total speaking population of less than 100,000.

III.5.1.3 Western Bantu languages are characterized by a well-developed system of class prefixing (cf. Temne),

1) This is being ousted by Lingala in some areas.

grammatical and lexical tone, and lack of gender distinction. Derived forms from compound suffixing are common. All syllables are open, and diphthongs are rare. Homorganic nasals frequently occur before stops, even in word-initial position. These latter are lost in Krio, thus Ki ŋkata > Kr katá, Ki mboma > Kr bomán.

III.5.2.0 The majority of the items of possible Western Bantu origin fall into the category of multiple etymology, and the occurrence of look-alikes in Kikongo, etc., may be purely fortuitous. Such items as bánda, koní(-rábit), los, sus, etc., are discussed in chapter VI.3.0.0 under convergence.

III.5.2.1 Several English-derived items, and one or two of African origin, which are shared by both Krio and Western Bantu, were very probably introduced into some of the latter languages by the great number of Sierra Leoneans — especially Mende — who were imported after 1885 as a cheap labour force into the Congo Free State ⁽¹⁾ to

1) Fyfe, op. cit., pp. 504 and 546.

work on the construction of railways, etc. This probably accounts for Jespersen's having been able to obtain specimens of Pidgin English from the Congo ⁽¹⁾, a country not normally associated with that language. African items in Western Bantu of possible Upper Guinea origin include bangá, diyambá, kpet(ε)kpét(ε), potopóto, sambá and šaká; because of the likelihood of convergence, these items have also been discussed in VI.3.0.0 below. Cf. also de and na in the same chapter, and lobító in chapter II.1.7.1d.

III.5.2.2 Items of likely Bantu origin in Krio

The improbability of much direct Western Bantu influence upon Krio lexicon is given more weight by the fact that of the items discussed here, which are most likely to be of Bantu origin, all occur in New World creoles as well, and may thus have not entered Krio from an immediate Bantu source:

1) O. Jespersen, Language, its nature, development and origin, London, 1922, p. 224.

bomán

Python, boa constrictor.

Cf. Ki mboma, "python". Also

Sr abóma, Sara boma, Gu báme,

CP mbóma.

džombí

Spirit, ghost. Also in the combination wan-fút-džombí, "a certain spirit".

Cf. Ki nzumbi, Mb nzumbe, "a

ghost". Also Sr džumbí, Sara

džombí, Guy džámbi, JC džómbi,

Creole Dutch zúmbi, Haitian

zôbi, Eng zombie. Vai has

nzúma, "ghost".

džongá

A spear.

Cf. Ki, Mb, Nyombe, Mimboma and

Basunde díŋn.ga [dyóngga], "a

spear". Also JC "junga" [džongga],

"a fishing lance".

gumbé

Drum type.

Cf. Mb ŋkumbi, Ki ngoma, "drum".

Also JC gúmba, gúmbe, gómbe,

Gu gómè.

kandá

Skin, rind, peel, bark, shell.

Cf. Ki kanda, Kabenda ṅkanda,

"skin". Also JC kánda, "peri-

carp of palm kernel", CP ṅkandá,

"skin".

katá

Head-carrying-ring or pad.

Cf. Ki, Mb, ṅkáta, "head pad".

Also Sara àkàtà, JC kóta, káta,

CP káta. Probably not Twi (see

III.4.4.7) as suggested in DJE.

lawláu

Foolish, light-headed.

Cf. Ki lau, "madness", kiláwu,

"madman". Also Sr lawláu, Sara

lau, "foolish, mad".

III.5.2.3 Ideophones

Although the identification of ideophones with any one source language is tenuous, it is significant that

several of the items falling into this category in Krio have counterparts in Western Bantu languages. Daeleman (1968) lists nearly thirty ideophones of Kikongo origin in Saramaccan (pp. 31-34), and points out that this word class is a characteristic feature of Bantu languages — although of course equally-well represented in Kwa and West Atlantic languages.

gbáma

Tightly, firmly: di tawabólt fá-
šin gbáma, "the bolt fastened ti-
ghtly".

?Cf. Ki bama, "tighten" (not
an ideophone).

lébélébé

Supplely, loosely, flexibly.

Cf. Ki lébélébe, "supple".

Also CP lebelébe, "flexible",

Ptg leve, Cr lebi, lebe,

"light".

té(é...)

Ideophone of extremity: i de džekpé
té, "she talks SO much", i móna té,

"it makes me SO fed up".

Cf. Ki tééé, "ideophone:

until, to an extent". With

the same syntactic distrib-

ution as Krio.

tókótókó

Ideophone of water, mud, etc.,

bubbling, or of rice boiling

in a pot: di res de bwel tókó-

tókó, "the rice is boiling mer-
rily".

Cf. Ngombe toko, "to bub-

ble (of boiling water)",

not an ideophone.

tšéntšentšě

Smart, tidy, esp. of being

dressed: yu dón dresóp tš-,

"you've dressed up smartly".

Cf. Ki kyékyekye, "nice,

attractive, clear". Also

Sara céncé, "nice, pretty,

new", Mdg cēyi, "fine, beautiful".

wáláwálá

In masses, of fish swimming: dě
fis de swim w~ na di ríva, "those
fish are swimming in shoals in
the river".

Cf. Ki wálawala, "large, wide".

III.6.0.0 WOLOF

Wolof speakers from Senegambia were amongst the earliest Recaptives in the Freetown Colony; a group are recorded as having been farming on the slopes of Leices-ter Mountain as early as 1807 ⁽¹⁾. The village of Bathurst was founded in the Colony in 1818, and was populated mainly by Wolof and Bassa. Hannah Kilham was able to preach there in Wolof during the 1830's ⁽²⁾.

III.6.0.1 There have long been close administrative ties between Sierra Leone and the Gambia; from 1821 to 1843 and again between 1866 and 1888 they shared the same colonial government, based in Freetown. There is a Creole population in the Gambian capital, Bathurst (Banjul), calling themselves and their Krio dialect Aku, and numbering

1) Fyfe (1962), p. 107.

2) Op. cit., p. 182. The same source (p. 288) lists the Wolof as having formed the greater part of the Roman Catholic community in Freetown during the 1840's, but the 1848 Census listed only 16 speakers of the language for the whole of Freetown.

now probably something less than 4,000 ⁽¹⁾. It is generally assumed that they are the descendants of Sierra Leonean traders, although it seems likely that Krio (i.e. Aku) developed simultaneously with the Freetown variety, or may even have been established at an earlier date ⁽²⁾.

III.6.1.0 Wolof is spoken along the Atlantic coast from the Mauritanian border to the Senegal River, and serves as a lingua franca throughout Senegambia for several million people. The Wolof refer to the area they inhabit as [ɟɔlof], and to themselves as [ɔlof] or [wɔlof]. In Krio, džólof refers both to the tribe and their territory.

III.6.1.1 Wolof has been classified as a single unit within the West Atlantic group of languages ⁽³⁾, and is spoken in several mutually comprehensible dialects. Its

1) According to The Gambia in brief (1965), p. 11.

2) See introductory chapter.

3) In Westermann and Bryan (1970), p. 18.

lexicon contains a considerable number of adoptions from Manding, especially Mandinka.

III.6.1.2 Phonemes occurring in Wolof but not in Krio include the palatal plosives [c] and [ɟ], the uvular plosive [q], and the uvular fricative [χ], plus the vowels [ʌ] and [ə], and long vowels contrasting with short.

Where Wolof items have been adopted into Krio, the following modifications have occurred:

- a) Wo [c] : Kr /tʃ/, Wo cuné, "amateur", > Kr tʃuné
- b) Wo [ɟ] : Kr /dʒ/, Wo ɟakató, "eggplant", > Kr dʒakató
 Wo ɟólɔf, "Wolof", > Kr dʒólɔf
- c) Wo [q] : Kr /k/, Wo yɛq, "startle", > Kr yɛk
- d) Wo [χ] : Kr /θ/, Wo ditáχ, "tallow-tree" > Kr ditá

III.6.2.0 Semantic areas of adoption into Krio

Considering the long history of cultural intercommunication between the Bathurst and Freetown Creoles, it is surprising that there are so few Wolof-derived items in Krio. Bathurst Aku naturally contains a great many more than Freetown Krio, which contains no Wolof-derived

items not also occurring in the Bathurst variety. The two dialects differ principally in intonation.

III.6.2.1 The largest semantic group includes the names of plants, probably introduced by the Wolof traders who are fairly numerous in Freetown. The Wolof are noted among other things for their cuisine, Joloff rice and the similar benacin adopted by most coastal peoples as far as the Cameroons ⁽¹⁾. This latter has been calqued in Krio as wan-pót (Wo bena, "one" + cin, "pot"). A small group of items are predictably concerned with the body and bodily actions (pupú, yek), or to human types (tšuné). This has been discussed in III.0.0.0. The grammatical items di/de and don are possibly the result of convergence, al-

-
- 1) Other items (mainly plant-names) connected with the Gambia, have English-derived names: gyambé-granát, "groundnut sp.", gyambé-plóm, "fruit sp.", gyambé-tšibús, "herb sp.", gyambé-ós, "type of horse", etc. The Krio name of the country (gyambé) has the variant form gambé, and probably derives from the French form of the name, viz. Gambie.

though their existence in Wolof helps substantiate the assumption ~~that it is~~ proposed above (1.3.4.8) ~~that~~ that what is now Krio was initiated on the Senegambian coast. One insect name (nutmút) has been found, although the insect itself is common throughout West Africa. The fairly widespread occurrence of the term in Upper Guinea (in Wolof and Serer) as well as in West African French ⁽¹⁾, may account for its adoption into Krio.

III.6.2.2 Plants and foodstuffs

alombák

Tree sp., craterispermum laurinum,
a decoction from the bark of which
is used as a remedy for yellow fever.
Also used in the preparation
of wanka talismans (see IV.2.4.10).

Cf. Wo aləm, "ditto" (MS), +

Eng bark.

1) Mauny (1952), p. 50. The possibility also exists that West African French acquired this item from Krio or West African English.

baŋgá

Palm-kernel.

See VI.3.0.0.

basi-nyébé }
nyébé }

A stew of meat and beans.

Cf. Wo basi-nyébé, "couscous
aux haricots".

bení

Sesamum.

Cf. Wo bene, "sesame". Also
Mdg bene, and in Kr compounds
beni-síd, beni-kék, etc.

ditá

Tallow tree, detarium senegalensis.

Cf. Wo ditáx, "tallow tree".

džakató }
džakatú }

Egg plant, solanum melongena.

Cf. Wo jakató, "garden egg".

Also CP džakatú, ndžakatú.

III.6.2.3 Bodily actions

lik

Eat.

Cf. Wo leq, "eat". See also
VI.3.0.0, convergence (Kr yit,

Wo lɛq, both mean "copulate"
as well as "eat").

pupú

To defecate; faeces.

See III.4.4.2 and VI.3.0.0.

Wo pup, "to defecate, especially of children".

yɛk

To start, be startled.

Cf. Wo yɛq, "frightened".

Also Efik yìk, "marvel at, be startled, amazed".

III.6.2.4 Grammatical

de }
di }

Verbal marker expressing progressive action: i de go, "he is going",
i de ol, "he ages", de ton di sup,
"be stirring the stew".

Cf. Wo di, present habitual
action marker (see VI.3.0.0).

dón

Verbal marker indicating completed

action: i dón go, "he has gone",
i dón ol, "he has grown old", a bin
dón tel am, "I had told her", i go
dón fən am, "he will have found it".

Cf. Wo dɔ:n, past habitual ac-
tion marker (see VI.3.0.0).

III.6.2.5 Miscellaneous

mutmút

Grass-flea, phlebotomus, no-see'um.

Cf. Wo mutmut, mutəmute, "grass
flea". Also Serer mutumutu,
West African French moutmout.

tšuné

Amateur, inferior in age or skill.

Cf. Wo cuné, "ditto". Also Hau
tšúne, "speak words of encour-
agement to children or dogs"
(MB).

IV.0.0.0 LOCAL LANGUAGES

The nine chapters included here differ from those in part III in that they deal with indigenous languages still spoken in Sierra Leone, and hence Freetown, and which as a result may still exert some lexical influence upon Krio.

IV.0.0.1 Groups such as Fula or Kru are treated as local because they are present in large enough numbers, or have been resident for a considerable length of time (e.g. Fula and Manding for several centuries, and Kru since 1793) to be regarded as such.

IV.0.0.2 Of the nine groups discussed below, seven were included in the 1848 Census of Freetown ⁽¹⁾. It is probable that having been returned to the area from which they were taken, many Recaptives originating from the Sierra Leone area were able eventually to rejoin their own tribes; this is borne out by the fact that by 1841, an estimated 70,000 Liberated Africans had passed through the King's Yard in Freetown, but the population of the Colony in that year was

1) Not listed were Vai (or Gallinas) or Limba (Tonko, Saf-roko, etc.), although these were recorded by Koelle.

only 37,000 (1). Nevertheless, many must have chosen to stay on in the Colony for trade, personal reasons, etc., and eventually became assimilated into the Creole community.

IV.0.0.3 The greater part of the indigenous Sierra Leonean population in Freetown during the 1800's must have consisted not of Recaptives, but of Mende, Temne, etc. migrants directly from the hinterland. To-day, in areas of Freetown where indigenous languages are spoken, this is the result of such areas having been populated by migrants from the interior rather than by Creoles of indigenous ancestry who have retained a knowledge of the language of the tribe of their forefathers (2). Because of the constant exposure to indigenous languages and customs, few members of local groups can consider themselves as "true" Creoles while they are still able to speak one of the tribal tongues as a first language.

1) Curtin and Vansina (1964), p. 187.

2) See M. Banton, West African city: A study of tribal life in Freetown, London (1957).

This creates considerable psychological difficulties, such as the "Turay done turn Coker" syndrome, resulting from the fact that there can be no "clean break" with the mother tribe as there was for Creoles of, say Nupe or Ijaw ancestry.

IV.0.0.4 Most urban indigenes speak some form of Krio with greater or lesser proficiency, and it is interesting to note that two other lingue franche are in use within two groups of related languages, viz. the use of Kra amongst the Kru peoples (see IV.7.1.2) and Kangbe amongst the Manding (see IV.3.1.0).

Throughout the period of Creole-indigene coexistence socializing on equal terms has been negligible. Many of the local tribes were involved in attacks upon Creoles in the 19th century in the Protectorate (see for example IV.4.0.3), and the Creoles themselves were known to have badly treated tribal migrants to Freetown (see Fyfe, p. 455). To-day, Creoles are still separated from other Sierra Leoneans by their Anglicized culture and (with the exception of the Muslim Creoles) by their religion, although indications are that since the end

of World War I, and even more rapidly since the independence of Sierra Leone in 1961, Creole culture is becoming increasingly Africanized.

IV.0.2.0 Krio is spoken by more non-Creole Sierra Leoneans than by Creoles themselves, and it is from the mother-tongues spoken by these non-Creoles that the African vocabulary elements are derived.

IV.0.2.1 Not all the items included in this category of vocabulary are known or used by Creoles, and for this reason only those supplied by Creoles speaking no African language have been included. Such items, however, must still be regarded as forming part of the overall Krio lexicon, despite their restriction in currency. In the same way that Africanisms of limited use were dropped from Krio in the 19th century (see III.0.1.3 and VI.5.0.0), only a small proportion of these items will find their way into Krio as spoken as a first language by the Creoles themselves.

IV.0.3.0 It has been noted in III.0.2.1 that Krio draws upon African languages especially heavily for its euphemistic

vocabulary. The implication from this is that the Creoles knew the meanings of these items beforehand, and thus that they were familiar with the indigenous languages from which they are derived; however, this has rarely been the case, and Creoles often regard the speaking of indigenous languages with some distain ⁽¹⁾. It may therefore be assumed that such items were introduced by speakers who were in fact bilingual in Krio and a local language, i.e. "new" Creoles turning their backs on their own group ⁽²⁾, and using the language of those they had left behind disparagingly in order to accentuate their newly-acquired "Creoleness".

-
- 1) When Creoles do express a desire to speak an African language, it is usually a non-local one such as Hausa or Igbo.
 - 2) This is a commonly-encountered phenomenon; compare for example the high incidence of anti-Black feeling amongst citizens of the southern U.S.A. or the Republic of South Africa who have passed for White, or the exaggerated animosity towards the ethnic groups of their parents among many first-generation Canadian, Australian or American immigrants.

IV.1.0.0 MENDE

The Mende (in Krio mendí, mendé or pejorative koso) are a Mande-speaking people who migrated south to their present location perhaps some four centuries ago, probably in small family-sized hunting units (1).

IV.1.0.1 In 1800 the Mende were still an inland people (2), but during the 19th century moved to the coast for trade and work, into the Bullom villages, where they often eventually outnumbered the original inhabitants and monopolized the communities both linguistically and administratively (3).

IV.1.0.2 There was little contact between the population of the Colony and the indigenous Mende during the early 1800's, although sufficient numbers of Mende were present in the Liberated African population of Freetown to justify

1) Little (1951), p. 26.

2) Fyfe (1962), p. 6

3) Fyfe (op. cit.), p. 399.

the establishment of Kossoh Town in 1813 for Mende Recaptives. By 1848 there were 609 "Koosoos" in the city itself (according to the 1848 Census), and by the latter part of the century several thousand Mende were resident in the Colony, although most of these were directly from the hinterland and consisted of ex-slaves, traders, boatmen and farmhands. Few of them rose above "manual and menial occupations (1)".

IV.1.0.3 To the Mende especially, the Creoles represent European, non-African values. With the imposition of the House Tax on all hinterland peoples after the annexation of the Protectorate in 1896 (see II.3.0.5), and the resulting Mende rising during which many "Europeans", i.e. Creoles, were massacred (2), ill-feeling between the two groups became well-entrenched.

IV.1.0.4 This antagonism has lasted until the present day,

1) Little (op. cit.), p. 24.

2) Little (op. cit.), pp. 46-56.

accentuated by the fact that while the Creole and his way of life represents the modern "civilized" ideal for which many indigenous Sierra Leoneans aim, he persists in considering the latter his inferior. With the decline of Creole influence in the country, and the bettering of educational opportunities for non-Creoles, social balance is gradually being brought about, if not an amelioration of attitudes.

IV.1.2.0 The Mende language

Mende consists of four closely-related dialects belonging to the south-western subgroup of Mande languages. It is spoken throughout all of southeastern Sierra Leone, and is most closely related to Loko, Loma, Bandi and Kpelle. Like Krio, it has more speakers for whom it is a second language than those for whom it is a mother-tongue.

IV.1.2.1 The language is characterized by a system of consonant mutation (also occurring in Loko, Loma, Bandi and Kpelle), which operates on nominals, postpositions and neutrals ⁽¹⁾. While it is unnecessary to give a complete

1) For this grammatical concept, see Innes (1962) pp. 22 and 73.

account of the rules governing consonant mutation, Mende-derived items in Krio may be derived from mutated or unmutated forms, and a table of these is given in full ⁽¹⁾:

<u>Unmutated</u>	<u>Mutated</u>
p	w
t	l
k	g
kp	gb
f	v
s	dž
mb	b
nd	l
ŋg	y (or w before <u>o</u> or <u>u</u>)
ndž	y

Mende also operates a system of nominal suffixes producing definite singular and plural forms, and indefinite plurals. The definite singular is the definite form plus -i, although this combination may cause some vocalic modification, e.g. mba, "rice", mbɛi, "the rice".

IV.1.3.0 Mende phonology

Mende contains the following 24 consonantal phonemes:

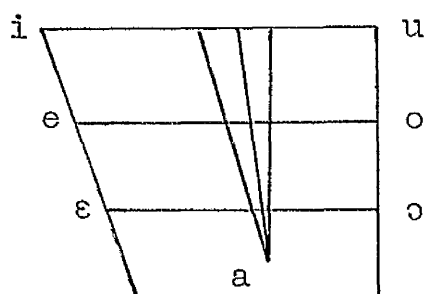
1) From Innes (op. cit.), p. 7.

	Bilabial	Labio-dental	Dental-Alveolar	Pre-Palatal	Palatal	Velar	Labio-Velar	Glottal
Plosive	p b		t d			k g	kp gb	
Nasal Compound	mb		nd	ndž		ŋg		
Nasal	m		n		ɲ	ŋ		
Affricate				dž				
Fricative		f v	s					
Lateral			l					
Semivowel	w				y			h

Note that /kp/ and /gb/ before front-close vowels are often realized as [kp^w] and [gb^w], intervocalic /l/ and /w/ are often elided where V₁ and V₂ are the same, e.g. péé for pélélé (house), táá for táwá (forehead), etc.

/dž/ and /ndž/ in the present orthography are realized phonetically as [dʒ] and [ndʒ] respectively.

IV.1.3.2 The vowels are:



All may carry nasalization, although nasalized /e/ and /o/ seldom occur. Vowel combinations not occurring in Krio

include ei, ei, ie, oi, ou, ou and ue, and long vowels contrasting with short.

IV.1.3.3 Tone

Mende operates two tone-levels, viz. high and low, plus the combinations rising and falling. These are marked \acute{V} (high), V (low), \check{V} (rising) and \hat{V} (falling) in the present orthography. Tone in Mende is both lexical and grammatical.

IV.1.3.4 Phonological modification

Apart from the adoption of legitimate mutated and elided forms from Mende into Krio, the most outstanding phonological feature exhibited by Mende-derived items is the retention of sounds no longer extant in the modern language. These appear to be of fairly recent modification, and have been dealt with in detail by Innes ⁽¹⁾, working from Mende material in Koelle's Polyglotta (1854). Innes' conclusions may be substantiated in part by the presence of the follow-

1) Innes (1967a), pp. 120-7.

ing retentions in Krio:

a) Kr /r/ : Me /l/ or /ø/

This is perhaps the most recent shift, Migeod still distinguishing between the two sounds in his 1907 grammar (see bibliography). Items retaining earlier /r/ include: gerí (IV.1.4.15), gbangúré (IV.1.4.12), gbaragbárá (IV.1.4.6), mamakpárá (IV.1.4.1) and pérébu (IV.1.4.10).

b) Kr /š/ : Me /s/

Cf. šékpéndé (IV.1.4.15), šíyánda (IV.1.4.7) and šukušéké (IV.1.4.6).

c) Simplification of compound nasals

Cf. džangré (IV.1.4.6), džekpé (IV.1.4.6), dɔkwí (IV.1.4.7) and gwanɡwá (IV.1.4.14).

d) Variation between single and double articulated stops

Cf. péndá (IV.1.4.7) and kpóró (IV.1.4.1).

e) Variation between voiced and voiceless stops

Cf. gombúkapú (IV.1.4.9), gbanguré (IV.1.4.12), kún-kúbé (IV.1.4.1) and kpékpé (IV.1.4.14).

f) Loss of syllable

Several items have become shortened in Krio, probably by Krio speakers with no knowledge of Mende. This may be compared with shortening by loss of initial class prefixes from Temne-derived items, which appears to have taken place intentionally by Temnes (see IV.2.2.0). Cf. kama-kúma (IV.1.4.1), malét (IV.1.4.7) and yándo (IV.1.4.4).

There appears to be no preference for definite rather than indefinite, or mutated rather than unmutated, forms in the process of adoption; each is about equally represented in the material available.

IV.1.4.0 Semantic areas of adoption into Krio

Included in the following categories are those items most of which are known to non-Mende speakers of Krio. It is important however to emphasize that the majority of these are not primary to Creole experience but relate specifically to Mende culture, and especially to Mende societies ⁽¹⁾. This may be due to the fact that the female

1) Society vocabulary is also the largest loan-area from Mende into Temne (see Turay, 1971).

Sande Society in particular was introduced into the Peninsula by the Mende in the 1850's and gained a considerable foothold ⁽¹⁾, while the leading male society, the Poro, was less successful — probably because Creole societies such as Ode, Gelede, Egugu, etc. were proving more attractive to the male population, and had been introduced earlier. It is possible that secret societies were one way for the indigenous Sierra Leoneans to remain aloof from the Creoles, who continue to view tribal societies and masqueraders with some awe. If this were the case, Creoles would have learned the names of the organizations even if they were ignorant of their ritual.

Items connected with magic (IV.1.4.3), and possibly names of musical instruments, were probably also made familiar in connection with Mende societies. Names of persons

1) Peterson (1969), p. 267.

are not especially derogatory, as is usually the case with locally-derived items belonging to this category, although items connected with human behaviour include several such: (miserable, hypocritical, incest, brazen, stubborn, etc.). Nearly all anatomical terms are sexual, or refer to disease or deformity, and as such do not deviate from the normal pattern of adoption in this area. Clothing terms are all for non-Creole items, although several Mende-derived items of food may be found in Creole homes (see III.1.4.10). Far more names of prepared food exist in Krio which are of Mende origin than those of unprepared ingredients or raw vegetables; the reverse is true of Temne-derived adoptions in these areas. Like Temne, however, Mende has provided several ideophones, some of which occur in other Sierra Leonean languages.

IV.1.4.1 Society vocabulary

bondo

A female society; more correctly, the area where they meet.

Cf. Me bondo, bundu, "the Bundu Society".

džámámá

A masquerader, also called náfale.

Cf. Me džámámá, ditto.

džóbáy

Masquerader associated with a youths' association.

Cf. Me džóbái, ditto.

gobóy

A dancing masquerader.

Cf. Me gobó+í, ditto.

kamakúma

Name of the Sande meeting-place for members on the evening before initiation.

Cf. Me kama, "place", + kúma-káyeíhu, "place in Freetown where Bondo girls meet".

kongolí

A dancing masquerader.

Cf. Me kongolií, ditto.

kúṅkúbé

A wood and leather device used by society members for travelling unobserved under water, in order to attack swimmers, etc.

Cf. Me kúṅgúbéí, ditto.

kpówá

Non-member of a Mende society,
a non-initiate.

Cf. Me kpówá, non-member, an
outsider, one 'not in the know'.

Also a fool.

lánda

A masquerader in a branch of the
Poro Society, in which cola nuts
have a special significance.

Cf. Me lánda, "Poro devil among
the Bandi".

mamakpárá }
mamapálá }

A certain masquerader on stilts.

Cf. Me mómókpáa, "stilt-dancing".
(Stilt-dancing, and stilts them-
selves, are agéré [<SY] in
Krio).

náfale

An infrequently-seen masquerader
(see džámámá, above).

Cf. Me náfale, "a devil which
appears on ceremonial occasions".

(Cf. also Susu naifale, "one who talks drivelling nonsense").

póró }
kpóró }

The Poro, a secret organization for men.

Cf. Me póó, ditto.

sande

The leading female society, also called Bondo or Bundu.

Cf. Me sande, ditto.

tákitáki

A masquerader which staggers.

Cf. Me takítakí, "staggering".

wóndé }
wúndé }
wéndé }

A secret organization for men.

Cf. Me wúndé, ditto.

yomáyomá

A one-armed masquerader.

Cf. Me yomáyomá, "a devil which summons people to attend a dance".

IV.1.4.2 Magic

boféma }
bofíma }

A powerful composite fetich containing human skin, blood, organs, etc., and kept in a pouch. This is used by secret societies of fishermen, etc., to predict the rightness or wrongness of intended actions.

Cf. Me bõfima, ditto (from Mnk bori, "a medicine", + fima, "black". Possible convergence from Ptg/Sp Creole blaféma, "curse, blaspheme" (< Ptg blasphemo).

gbato }
gbato }

In the combination ple gbato, to find lost items by divination, usu. employing a broom-spill, a pestle or the Koran.

Cf. Me gbato, "a stiff piece

of elephant or rhinocerus
hide used in detecting wrong-
doers".

sásá

A composite juju fetich.

Cf. Me sásá, "a medicine for
oath-taking". Also Te ε-sásá.

sáwé

An infusion of herbs in (usu.) palm
wine, used in society ritual. This
is the only non-Yoruba African item
in Ode Society vocabulary; see this
and oni-sáwé at III.1.4.1.

Cf. Me sáwá+í, "ditto".

totogbé

To divine the future, or for lost
items, etc.

Cf. Me totogbé, "to divine".

IV.1.4.3 Music

bóndómá

A percussion instrument.

Cf. Me gbondóma, gondóma, dit-
to. The Krio form is phono-
logically and tonally closer

to Loko bóndómá, with which
tribe the instrument is most
often associated.

sángbáy

Kind of conical drum.

Cf. Me sángbá+i, "tom-tom".

Also Te án!sángbá.

šegúre

Kind of maraccas, consisting of a
handled gourd slung in a bead cradle.

Cf. Me segbúla+i, segúla+i, ditto.

IV.1.4.4 Persons

gbánákakrá

A tough-guy, bully.

?Cf. Me gbáná, "arrogant, stubborn", + kakla, "ungainly, clumsy".

manyaré

Thief. Also occurs with same meaning
in the expression santibó kyat m~.

Cf. Me mănyalê, "cat". Krio
meaning influenced by SY akata,
"civet cat", giving Kr akata,

"thief". Cf. also Kr tif leke

pus, "steal like a cat".

pegí-bóy

Chum, helpmate, apprentice, sidekick.

Also a merchant seaman's personal
cabin-boy, whom he pays himself.

Cf. Me pegí, "boyfriend, apprentice" (loanword?) + Eng boy.

pumóy

A European, sometimes applied to the
Creoles (by non-Creole speakers).

Cf. Me pumo+í, ditto.

yándo

Sweetheart, girlfriend.

Cf. Me nyahándo (< nyahâ, "woman"
+ ndó, "child"), "young woman".

IV.1.4.5 Bodily actions

kpákpá

1) To drive one thing through another,
e.g. a nail through a plank.

2) To make juju against an action.

Cf. Me kpákpá, "hammer, impale".

popó

To carry on the back, often in the

tautological combination popó na bak.

Cf. Me popó, ditto.

IV.1.4.6 Behaviour and experience

bándža

Misbehave, hinder, disturb.

Cf. Me bándža, "to be headstrong, not under control". Possible convergence from Eng banjax.

džangré

Roguish, devil-may-care, irresponsible.

?Cf. Me ndžangla+i, "mischief-making".

džepé }
džekpé }

Chat (n+v).

Cf. Me ndžepé, "chatter (n.)".

See yepé/yekpé, below.

gbagbatí

In mek gbagbatí, to be stubborn, throw a temper tantrum.

Cf. Me kpakpatí, "stubbornness".

gbaragbára

Openly, not secret.

Cf. Me gbáláú, "plain, open, clear".

gbíngbín

In mek gbíngbín, to act authoritatively or pompously.

Cf. Me gbíngbĩ, "boasting, bragging".

kónání

To give an account, relate.

Cf. Me góná, "to report, pass on news" + (?) -ni, "past tense suffix".

koyo

Sad, miserable.

Cf. Me koyo, "clumsy, lethargic".

lomalóma }
romaróma }

Petting, cuddling, love-play.

Cf. Me lomá (mutated form of ndomá), "love", malóma, "lover".

Convergence with Eng romance?

sas }
sasí }

Assertive, in various ways, e.g. rough (of sea), pungent (of pepper), outspoken (of persons), etc.

Cf. Me sasí, "impudence".

Also English saucy, sassy (see
VI.3.0.0).

súmóngámá }
súmángámá }

Incest.

Cf. Me símóngámá, ditto. Also
Vai and Liberian English.

šukušéké

Hypocritical, two-faced.

Cf. Me sukuséké, "tale-bearing".

yekpé }
yepé }

Chat (n+v).

Cf. Me yepé, "to chat". See
džekpé/džepé, above.

IV.1.4.7 Anatomical

bambí

Vulva.

Cf. Me bambí, "trap". Possible
euphemism in Mende.

dokwí

To break wind.

Cf. Me ndokû+i, "a fart".

gambí

Mons veneris.

Cf. Me ngambí, "a mound".

gendemé

Midget, dwarf.

Cf. Me gendeme, "short person".

keké

Elephantiasis scrotum.

Cf. Me keké, "father". The Krio meaning does not appear to occur in Mende, and is probably influenced by Temne, which has mə-kás, "scrotum", u-kás, "father".

kpókí

Crupper-bone, os coccygis, coccyx.

Cf. Me kpókí, "hip bone".

malét

An (unidentified) skin disease.

Cf. Me maléétée, "a stage of leprosy".

péndá

Ringworm, ulcer on shin from this.

Cf. Me kpéndá, "skin infection resembling ringworm".

šíyánda

To copulate.

Cf. Me síánda (<? sia, "like",

+ nda, "mouth"), "round opening,
mouth of vessel, etc."

IV.1.4.8 Exclamations

áporé!

Exclamation of dismay.

Cf. Me apolé, "exclamation of
disgust".

fyofó

In the expression a kos am to fyofó,
"I cursed him up and down".

?Cf. Me fió fió, "all the way
round".

nayavoté }
nyavoté }

Exclamation of astonishment or incred-
ulity. Cf. Krio a swe!

Cf. Me nyá voté, "I swear" (an
oath-taking formula).

póróó!

Exclamation of great surprise.

Cf. Me póróó!, ditto. Also Te,
Vai, etc.

IV.1.4.9 Clothing

gombúkapú

Knee-length shorts.

Cf. Me gombukabú, "shorts".

krubómbó

Loincloth such as worn by fishermen,
fashioned from a headscarf.

?Cf. Eng Kroo + Me bómbó, "a
loincloth, worn mainly by child-
ren".

vomí

Loincloth.

Cf. Me vomí, ditto.

IV.1.4.10 Household, livelihood

bembé

Type of scoop-net.

Cf. Me mbembé, ditto. Also in
the expression ib bembé in Krio
(but not apparently in Me), "to
engage in flirtatious talk with
a girl, 'throw out a line'".

džangabiné

Large spoon, ladle.

Cf. Me ndžangabena+i, ditto.

kongofó

Type of large shallow basin or pan,
such as is used for bathing babies,
etc. Also a simile for a squat per-

son.

Cf. Me kongofô, "aluminum vessel"

(but not located with secondary

Krio meaning).

patá

Paddle for beating clothes when laundering; to use this.

Cf. Me patá, "clothes-beating

paddle". See VI.3.0.0.

pérébu

A house, especially a Mende house.

Cf. Me pélé bu, "at home, in the house".

segyúla-nidul

segedúla-nidul

} Canvas-sewing hook with rounded handle
(similar in shape to screwdriver).

?Cf. Me segúla, "gourd rattle",

+ Eng needle (analog. of shape?).

IV.1.4.11 Prepared food, eating

dumbáy

dombáy

} Dish prepared from boiled, mashed
cassava or coco-yam.

Cf. Me dómba+i, ditto. Also

Vai. See VI.3.0.0.

džákítómboy

Cassava-leaf; soup prepared from this.

Cf. Me sakítombo+i, ditto.

džolábeté

Potato-leaf; soup prepared from this.

Cf. Me ndžoláa, "sweet potato leaf", + beté, "cooked leaves in oil, cooked vegetable".

kéndá

Fermented mashed locust beans.

Cf. Me kéndá, ditto. Also Te k-éndá, probably loaned from

Me or Koranko.

kókóró(-bón)

Of bones or a carcass, bare of flesh after eating or boiling, stripped of meat (cf. also Kr emti-bón, "bone sucked dry").

Cf. Me kókóló, "empty".

kóndó

Mass-produced food such as is given to soldiers, labourers, prisoners, etc.

Cf. Me kóndó, ditto. Also Limba
kondõ, "workmen's food".

mokúwa

To gormandize.

Cf. Me moku, "to chew slowly with
the mouth full", + (?) wa, "much".

IV.1.4.12 Plants and vegetables

fe

Seeds of the oil-bean tree.

Cf. Me faa+i, "oilbean tree and
its seeds".

gbangúré-res

Rough rice.

Cf. Me kpángúle, ditto (possibly
a loanword in Me).

gbégbé-bangá

Palm kernels used for the game of
gbégbé.

Cf. Me gbegbe-lówu, "oilpalm ker-
nels". Temne has gbégbé as the
name of the game only, probably
from Me via Krio.

kiyó

Calabar beans, *physostigma venenosum*.

Cf. Me kíyo, ditto.

mayúgba-kasáda

Sp. of sweet cassava.

Cf. Me mayúgba, ditto, + Eng
cassada.

IV.1.4.13 Medicine, etc.

doní

Shea butter, a natural fat, which
is rubbed onto the body to allevi-
ate fever. Also orí (<SY) in Krio.

Cf. Me doní, ditto.

teví

Cannabis, Indian hemp.

Cf. Me teví, teví, "a certain
'medicine'".

IV.1.4.14 Aquatic creatures

džokéngé

Species of crab which is supposedly
able to devour a cow.

Cf. Me džokéngé, "a crab". The
Me form suggests that this is
a loanword, but cf. Me kéngélé,
"rounded top", bi yama kenge-
lengo, "your eyes are staring
in your head". The element džo

may be the Mende proper name

džo (cf. "John Cricket" in Kr).

gwanḡwá

Species of fish.

Cf. Me nguanḡáá, ditto.

kpékpé

Sp. of small frog, sometimes used as
bait for larger fish.

Cf. Me kpégbé, kpéngbé, ditto.

tekú

Sp. of tiny, lively fish. Also in
the expression brésin-tekú (<Eng
brazen), a child which makes its
presence felt over-much in adult com-
pany.

Cf. Me tekú, "fish sp."

IV.1.4.15 Other creatures

bombolí

Sp. of ant.

Cf. Me mbombolí, ditto.

džéngbétútu

Sp. of brown dove.

Cf. Me džéngbé, "bird sp."

See also džámbátútu, IV.3.4.8.

gérí

In the combinations búš-gerí, "sp. of hawk", and watá-gerí, "brown fish-hawk".

Cf. Me gélé, "hawk".

gbegí

Occurs only in the expression smel leke gbegí ondaán, "to stink like a gbegí's armpit", plus as the name of a masquerader (<SY).

Cf. Me gbegí, "gorilla".

sékpéndé

Sparrowhawk, noted for its noisy chatter.

Cf. Me sékpéndé, ditto.

yóní

Red ant. Also any ant.

Cf. Me yóní, "red ant". Also in Krio in the combination yóní-tít (<Eng teeth), "pleated, lapped and stitched decorative edging for furniture covers, etc.

IV.1.4.16 Ideophones

bamapólón
vamapóló
bamakóló }

Intensity of emptiness, bareness,
nothingness.

Cf. Me gbama póló, "for nothing,
in vain".

kpótókpótó

Bubbling, spluttering, of a liquid
boiling in a pot, especially rice.

Cf. Me kpótókpótó, ditto.

myamyá

Intensity of a crash of thunder, an
explosion, lightning.

Cf. Me miamiá, "lightning".

Also Vai míamíá, "lightning".

páópa

Whether one wants to or not, regard-
less. Also willy-nilly, at random.

Cf. Me pá-ó-pa, "nevertheless,
all the same".

pí }
pí }

Intensity of fulness: di kóp ful pí,
"the cup is brim-full".

Cf. Me pí, "intensity of filling".

Also Te pí, ditto.

ti

Intensity of blackness, di net blak ti,

"the night is pitch black".

Cf. Me ti, ditto. Also Te thí

(used with bi, "black"), ditto.

IV.2.0.0 TEMNE

The Temne (in Krio timini) occupy most of northern Sierra Leone, and number ca. 650,000, or something over one third of the population of the country. The number of speakers of the language is in the region of 800,000 ⁽¹⁾.

IV.2.0.1 Contact between indigenous Sierra Leoneans and European visitors was not usually hostile, until several years after the establishment of the Sierra Leone Colony, when the chief, King Tom, took over from King Jimmy at the latter's death in 1799 ⁽²⁾.

IV.2.0.2 Captain Thompson of H.M.S. Nautilus, who arrived with the ca. 350 Black Poor and 100 (or more) English colonists from Britain in 1787, purchased twenty square miles of land on the south bank of the Sierra Leone Estuary from King

1) Dalby (1966), p. 5.

2) Peterson (1969), pp. 24, 26. See also I.1.0.3. King Jimmy succeeded King Naimbanna, who was ruling at the time of the establishment of the Colony, in 1793.

Naimbanna. This was the same stretch of land which had already been used for centuries previously as a watering place for slavers, and the inhabitants were long-accustomed to contact with European visitors, and to using some form of lingua franca with them (1).

IV.2.1.1 In 1788, one of the local ruling Temnes sold two of the Settlers back into slavery, but nevertheless peaceable relationships were generally maintained until 1801, when King Tom and his followers attacked Freetown causing several deaths (2). This initial outbreak of hostility ended in a short-lived truce, broken five months later when King Tom, with 400 Temne and Susu warriors, plus some exiled Settlers (3), returned to attack the Colony. These were al-

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- 1) See Bryan Edwards' The history, civil and commercial, of the British colonies in the West Indies, London (1793, 1801), vol. II, bk. 4, ch. 2, in which he notes English, rather than Portuguese presence in the Sierra Leone area; See also I.2.4.3,5, I.3.2.3 and IV.2.2.0.
- 2) Peterson (1969), pp. 34,35.
- 3) Peterson, loc. cit.

most immediately repulsed, with a quarter of King Tom's troops lost. While the Temne attacks were not a serious threat to the existence of the settlement, they indirectly cause a two-year food shortage as a result of the Settlers not having been able to plant crops during that period. In the years following the first attack in 1789, an attempt was made to evacuate all indigenous inhabitants from the Peninsula, although with little success.

IV.2.1.2 For most of the 19th century there was little contact with, or concern for the Temnes on the part of the Creole population, a state of affairs which included all other indigenous groups as well. But by the final third of the century the need for manual labour saw a steady migration of tribal Sierra Leoneans into Freetown ⁽¹⁾ to do jobs Creoles thought unfit for themselves. This increase in daily contact with the Temne and others saw little improvement in social consideration for them, and they continued to be badly

1) A. Porter, Creoledom, London (1963), p. 59.

treated and underpaid. Strikes were organized, which did much to assert the grievances of the indigenous labourers and to cause the Creole administrators considerable trouble, against which they were unable to use force as they had in earlier years, when a Settler "might kick a Timeneh or Soosoo with impunity ⁽¹⁾". To-day, Creole-Temne relationships are still strained, if not openly antagonistic, although incidence of intermarriage between the groups is increasing.

IV.2.2.0 Temne was the language indigenous to the area upon which the Sierra Leone settlement was founded, and it may reasonably be assumed that it has largely been Temne speakers who had used and shaped the pre-settlement creole (see I.3.2.3). This has been noted in Reinecke ⁽²⁾, where he states that "the original settlers...may have found a Temne-English jargon in use between natives and traders and have had to adopt it in their dealings with the aborigines".

IV.2.2.1 While Temne has contributed to modern Krio in the

1) Porter, loc. cit.

2) Reinecke (1937), p. 615.

areas of lexicon, calquing (see VI.4.0.0) and folklore ⁽¹⁾, it is unlikely to have been the principal substrate language, since not only was Krio probably initiated further north on the West African coast (see I.2.4.3) in a Manding-speaking environment, but the phonological systems of Temne and Krio differ in several respects — both English and Temne, but not Krio, for example, share the sounds [ə] and [ɑ].

IV.2.2.2 The Temne language

Temne has been classified as a member of the "West Atlantic" group of languages by both Westermann and Bryan ⁽²⁾ and Greenberg ⁽³⁾, and as a Mel language by Dalby ⁽⁴⁾. It is distantly related to the Bantu languages.

IV.2.2.3 The main linguistic features of Temne include a system of prefixes with nominal, adjectival, locative or ver-

1) See the Temne proverbs, etc., in C.F. Schlenker, Temne traditions, fables and proverbs, London (1861), and Cronise and Ward (1907), many shared by Krio.

2) Westermann and Bryan (1970), p. 13.

3) Greenberg (1966), p. 8.

4) D. Dalby, "The Mel languages", African language studies,

bal function ⁽¹⁾, a causative verbal form (e.g. bak "to be heavy", bak-ês "to make heavy"), and a register of tones including high, low, high-falling and low-falling, plus downstep/downslide and upstep. Like Krio, Temne is a terrace level tone language.

IV.2.3.0 Phonology

The consonantal phonemes of Temne are as follows ⁽²⁾, with allophonic variants in parentheses:

	Bi-labial	Inter-dental	Alve-olar	Pala-tal	Velar	Labio-velar	Glottal
Plosive	p b	th	t d		k	gb	ʔ
Fricative			s	(s)			h
Affricate				(t)			
Nasal	m		n		ŋ		
Lateral			l				
Roll			r				
Approximant	w			y			

VI, (1965), pp. 1-17.

1) Dalby (1966), p. 8.

2) Adapted from Dalby, op. cit., pp. 6-7.

Note that the allophonic variants [tʃ] and [ʃ] for /t/ and /s/ occur before the front vowels /i, e, ε/. The allophonic variant [d] normally occurs as a variant of /r/ before /i/ or in the vicinity of a second /r/. The glottal stop [ʔ] occurs very rarely (cf. I.4.1.1).

IV.2.3.1 The Temne vowels are as follows:

i		u
e	(ə)	o
ε	a	ɔ
	a	

The interconsonantal vowel [ə] is non-phonemic in Temne, but occurs as an element of the variant C+ə or ɲ+ə of a consonant phoneme in certain environments ⁽¹⁾. Vowel-length is not significant in Temne, but occurs when two like vowels come together in adjacent morphemes, and in emphatic pronunciations. This is exactly paralleled in Krio.

IV.2.3.2 Temne phonemes not occurring in Krio are /a/ and /th/, and the sound [ə] ⁽²⁾. Where these exist in the items

1) For more detailed information see Dalby, op. cit., p. 7.

2) Krio phonemes not shared by Temne include /v/, /g/, /ʒ/, /dʒ/, /kp/ and the nasal vowels.

adopted into Krio, the following modifications occur:

IV.2.3.3 Temne /a/ regularly corresponds to Krio /a/:

Kr gbapané (IV.2.4.4) <Te =gbapanê

IV.2.3.4 Temne /th/ regularly corresponds to Krio /t/ with one exception:

Kr kitimá (IV.2.4.1) <Te kə-themá

Kr kóntá (IV.2.4.1) <Te kə-kónthá

Kr wotó (IV.2.4.8) <Te kə-wothó

Kr fénté (IV.2.4.6) <Te a-fénthé

but

Kr kondo (IV.2.4.8) <Te k-ontho

IV.2.3.5 The Temne schwa-vowel [ə] often approximates to the adjacent vowel in the same morpheme:

Kr buluko (IV.2.4.1) <Te kə-buləko

Kr kónkóbó (IV.2.4.3) <Te k-ónkəbó

Kr málápmáláp (IV.2.4.9) <Te máləpmáləp

Kr mopoto (IV.2.4.3) <Te mə-potho

Often, however, this is not the case:

Kr kitimá (IV.2.4.1) <Te kə-themá

Kr malombó (IV.2.4.1) <Te mə-lombó

Kr manéké (IV.2.4.10) <Te mə-né¹ké

IV.2.3.6 In a few items, the Krio form retains the Temne class prefix:

Kr <u>kitimá</u> (IV.2.4.1)	<Te <u>kə-themá</u>
Kr <u>kóla</u> (IV.2.4.1)	<Te <u>k-óla</u>
Kr <u>kéndá</u> (IV.2.4.2)	<Te <u>k-éndá</u>
Kr <u>malombó</u> (IV.2.4.1)	<Te <u>mə-lombó</u>

However, the majority of nominals retaining this correspond to Temne items with prevocalic ("integral") class prefixes; only three of the nine items in this category retain pre-consonantal prefixes. This awareness of prefixing suggests that their loss is the result of conscious simplification by Temnes speaking Krio, rather than by Creoles with a knowledge of Temne — although certain irregularities (cf. IV.2.3.8 below) suggest that this may sometimes have been the case.

IV.2.3.7 The greatest number of Temne-derived items in Krio have lost their prefixes:

Kr <u>gbangbá</u> (IV.2.4.1)	<Te <u>a-gbangbá</u>
Kr <u>kálá</u> (IV.2.4.11)	<Te <u>a-kálá</u>
Kr <u>wotó</u> (IV.2.4.8)	<Te <u>kə-wothó</u>
Kr <u>yonka</u> (IV.2.4.4)	<Te <u>ε-yonka</u>

This is paralleled in other situations where a pidgin draws upon a class or prefixing language for its lexicon, cf. Fanagalò in South Africa, the Chinook Jargon in British Columbia, etc.

IV.2.3.8 In a few instances Temne-derived nominal forms in Krio are irregular, thus: Kr manéké, a mendicant spirit, derives from the Temne plural mə-né¹ké rather than the singular a-né¹ké; Kr mopoto, a European, corresponds to Te mə-potho "European things", rather than Te u-potho "an European"; Kr ógbénté, a short person, corresponds to the Te definite form with prefix ó- rather than the commoner indefinite form u-gbénthé; in the Kr item awéfú, a species of fish, the initial vowel has no apparent connection with the Temne form, viz. kə-wéfú, and remains unexplained. The item rógbéngbé, a commercial centre, retains the Temne locative prefix ró- used with place-names. In one item, dumbé, a fool, the Te prefix kə- has been treated as such and regularly dropped, although the Temne form derives from Mende kadumbéi.

IV.2.3.9 Other phonological modifications include an intrusive bilabial stop in kómbirá, a nursing mother (<Te u-kómrâ, cf. Kr fámbul <Eng "family"), an intrusive vowel to avoid postvocalic /r/ in krífi, a talisman (<Te u-kérfi, cf. also Kr krutó "baggy trousers", <Mdg kurtó), plus voicing of the

the velar plosive /k/ after the velar nasal /ŋ/ in the items fangé (< Te kə-fanké, IV.2.4.10) and féngré (< Te =fénkrê, IV.2.4.10).

IV.2.4.0 Semantic areas of adoption

Temne has had a greater immediate lexical impact upon Krio than is at first apparent, since it has been directly from that language that a great many Krio items of ultimate Manding, Susu, Arabic, and even occasionally Limba, derivation have been adopted. No semantic category in Krio is unique to loanwords-from Temne, although this language has provided Krio with a more than usual number of ideophones (IV.2.4.9). Individual ideophones are usually restricted to use with specific verbs or adjectives in West African languages, suggesting a substantial knowledge of Temne on the part of those who introduced them; i.e. that they were introduced into Krio by Temnes who spoke the language, rather than by Creoles with a knowledge of Temne (see supra, IV.2.2.0). Plant names are predictably those which relate to a culinary, medical or other utilitarian application.

Their various uses, as well as their names, were probably also acquired from the Temne, since non-indigenous Settlers would not have been familiar with much of the local flora in the Sierra Leone Peninsula. The fact that many Temnes are employed as carpenters and joiners in Freetown has resulted in many of the names of trees and wood species being derived from their language. In contrast to Mende, which has provided Krio with many names of prepared foods, practically all of those in the corresponding category in Temne relate to unprepared vegetables, or ingredients in the raw state; this is so because these items are brought in to the Freetown markets by Temne traders coming from up-country, and seldom by Creoles themselves (this situation may be compared with the origin of culinary terms in English, often Norman French when relating to prepared dishes, and Anglo-Saxon when relating to unprepared items). Anatomical terms are largely connected with abnormalities — baldness, disease, stunted growth, etc. All clothing terms relate to non-Creole concepts, as likewise do items from secret society vocabulary and names of games, this latter resulting

from Creoles and Temnes playing together as children in Freetown ⁽¹⁾. Such items are employed in Krio either in a specifically Temne context, or else in fun, although a small number of items which are semantically restricted in Temne have not unnaturally become generalized in Krio (e.g. fénggré, IV.2.4.10), or used as euphemisms (e.g. lángbá, IV.2.4.4, lémpé, IV.2.4.5 and betí, IV.2.4.10).

IV.2.4.1 Plants

buluko

Sesamum radiatum, a sp. of benne with strong-smelling seeds. The leaves are sometimes used in soups.

Cf. Te ke-buləko, ditto.

gbangbá

gbangbá-íla

gbangbá-íle

Cassia sieberiana, plant with long

-
- 1) In this respect a parallel may be drawn between the social situation in early Freetown, and in parts of the modern United States, where White and Black children are allowed to play together, but are discouraged from doing so beyond the age of puberty.

cylindrical fruit used as an aphrodisiac, and otherwise medicinally.

Cf. Te a-gbangbá, ditto, + Su nominal suffix -íla, or SY i le "it is hard", ile "hardness".

Also Su bangbua, Me gbangbei. Bi apagban is prob. via PE or Krio.

gbesí }
besí }

Daniella thurifera, frankinsense tree, a wood sp. used for dugout canoes.

Cf. Te kə-gbese (n.t.), ditto.

Also Me gbese.

gbongbó }
bongbó }

Alternative name for gbesí, supra.

Cf. Te kə-gbongbô "tree sp. for canoe-building".

kitimá

Cholorophora excelsa (odum, African teak, African oak, etc.).

Cf. Te kə-themá, ditto.

kóla

Cola acuminata or cola nitida.

Cf. Te k-ólá, ditto. There ap-

pears the be many cognate forms of this item in West African languages: Bam-Mnk-Ful-Hau-Kanuri goro, Su kolai, Dagbani guli, Gbari gwolo, etc. Also in the brand name "Coca-Cola" (Kr kokó-kolá).

kóntá

Afzelia africana, a flowering tree the wood of which is used for furniture construction, etc.

Cf. Te kə-kónthá, ditto.

kúndu

Crabwood tree, used medicinally and for soap-making.

Cf. Te ε-kunər, -kunda, -kundi, ε-kuth (n.t.), ditto (Dalziel, unknown to informants).

kyāwúd

Logwood, camwood, baphia nitida.

Cf. Te k-ám, Bul kam, ditto. Noted as a Sierra Leonean item by

early visitors to the region; probably adopted first into English thence introduced into Krio, as attested by presence of palatalized initial velar plosive.

malombó

Salacia senegalensis, a fruit sp. similar to the pomegranite. The plant is also called bikin-faya-buš (< Eng "beacon fire bush").

Cf. Te mə-lombó, ditto.

píntíkílí

Plant sp., the fruit of which has an odour unpleasant to snakes, and which is used as a deterrent to them.

Cf. Te rə-péntékílí, ditto.

tay

Cannabis sativa, Indian hemp.

Cf. Te kə-tháy, ditto. The Te form is possibly Kr-derived (< Eng "tie", cf. Kr bóndul "bundle" for the same item).

IV.2.4.2 Food and drink

gbalá

To add a mucilagenous ingredient
to a soup.

See VI.3.2.6.

gbenkré

Strong palm-wine punch.

Cf. Te mə-gbenkré "kind of
strong palm-wine".

kéndá

Fermented locust beans.

Cf. Te k-éndá "ground locust
beans". Also Me kéndá, ditto.

IV.2.4.3 Persons

bat

Girlfriend.

Cf. Te u-báthé "favourite wife,
lady-friend" (< Su bádé, dit-
to).

kómbra

Nursing mother.

Cf. Te u-kómrâ, ditto. See IV.
2.3.9.

dúmbe

A stupid person.

Cf. Te kə-dúmbe, ditto (≤ Me
kadumba, kadumbei "cassava bread",
which supposedly makes one stupid
if eaten to excess).

kónkóbó

A heavy drinker.

Cf. Te k-ónkébó "worm sp. which
lives in the wine palm, and hence
nickname for palm-wine drinker".

mopóto }
póto }

A European.

Cf. Te u-potho "A European; a Cre-
ole", mə-potho "European things",
≤ Portuguese.

poyó

A fool, unskilled person, in taxi-dri-
vers' slang.

Cf. Te -gboyó "one who does things
imperfectly or unprofessionally, e.
g. u-dreba-gboyó 'useless driver'".

timini

Temne.

Cf. Te themne, ditto.

tetú-en-yáwa }
totú-en-yáwa }

Two (people) of a kind; a well
matched pair.

Cf. Te a-thethú "small boy who
carries love-tokens on behalf
of another, to -yáwa, the ob-
ject of affection".

IV.2.4.4 Action and experience

bel

To talk suggestively or flirtatious-
ly to a girl.

?Cf. Te =bélmá "to coax". Cf.
bat (IV.2.4.3) for similar loss
of final syllable.

bosbós

Trouble.

Cf. Te -gbosgbós, ditto. Also
Li (< Te?) gbosgbôs.

fumpó

Fall down.

Cf. Te =fúmpô, ditto.

gbapanê

Trouble, involvement.

Cf. Te =gbapanê "to shirk re-

sponsibility, ignore a bad situation because one does not want to become involved".

gbepé }
gbekpé }

Sit, stop, stay.

Cf. Te =gbepé "to stay".

katé

To pay a debt, produce money.

Cf. Te kə-kathé "paying-up".

lángbá

To copulate.

Cf. Te =lángbá, ditto.

lomlé

To talk too much.

Cf. Te =lómne, ditto (with reversal of tone distribution).

maláné

To pet, cuddle.

Cf. Te =malánê "to embrace".

mentémenté

Petting, fondling.

Cf. Te =menté "to coax, fondle".

podapóda

To manage with difficulty, struggle to make ends meet. The name applied to the system of inexpensive transport

(podapóda) may be derived from this.

Cf. Te podapóda, ditto (? < Li).

sané

To make obeisance.

Cf. Te =sané, ditto.

yágbá

Worry; to worry.

Cf. Te =yágbá "to worry".

yonka

Pride, vanity, boastfulness.

Cf. Te ε-yonka, ditto.

IV.2.4.5 Anatomical

gbéné

Nicodama, a disease causing red patches on the skin.

Cf. Te α-gbéné, ditto.

kónkó

Hollow bridge of nose, depth of face.

Cf. Te ε-kónkó, ditto.

lémpé

Prepuce.

Cf. Te α-lémpé, ditto.

ogbénté

Short, stunted person.

Cf Te u-gbénthé, ditto (see IV. 2.3.8).

tólon

Bald pate.

Cf. Te kε-thó[!]lón, ditto.

IV.2.4.6 Clothing

fénté

Cloth lightly dyed with indigo.

Cf. Te a-fénthé, ditto.

fúgbagba

Baggy trousers.

Cf. Te fúgbagba "baggy".

ketkét

Hem-fastening clips used in dress-making.

?Cf. Te ε-kat "notches".

kóftá

Slippers (worn by non-Creoles).

Cf. Te a-kófthá "shoes".

kúpé

Artificial padding for buttocks.

Cf. Te a-kúpé, ditto.

rónkó

Style of brown gown.

Cf. Te a-rónkó "brown gown worn by members of the Rabai Society".

IV.2.4.7 Games

bótkídí

Game played with sticks and stones.

Cf. Te bót kí rî "put it there" (i.e. put the rock in-

to the hole with the stick).

gbádé

A game similar to warí (III.2.2.6).

Cf. Te -gbádé "a game played with rocks".

gbégbé

A game played with palm-kernels.

See IV.1.2.12.

IV.2.4.8 Living creatures

awéfú }
awébú }

Sp. of tiny fish.

Cf. Te kə-wéfú "fish sp.".

kondó

Red-headed lizard.

Cf. Te k-ontho, ditto.

wotó

Baboon, also an ugly person.

Cf. Te kə-wothó "ape sp.".

IV.2.4.9 Ideophones

bufute

Heaviness or slackness of sitting or falling: i sidóm bufute.

Cf. Te bufthe, bufethe, ditto.

fu

Intensity of whiteness: i wét fu.

Cf. Te fu, ditto.

gãy

Intensity of redness: i rэд gãy

Cf. Te kãy, ditto (not known to some informants).

gbekéyeke

Ideophone of delapidation, rattling, etc., of an old car.

Cf. Te gbekéyeke(-sukuyéke), onomatopœia for same.

gbéléngbélén

Noise of a bell ringing.

Cf. Te a-gbelên "bell". Also

Bul "gbelleng", ditto, Me gbélén "sound of a small bell".

kpay }
pay }

Intensity of being struck: i sláp am kpay. Also Kr paypáy "to slap".

Cf. Te kpãy, ditto.

málápmáláp }
málátmálát }
mápmáp }

Flashing, sparkling, twinkling.

Cf. Te málépmálóp, ditto.

ti

Intensity of blackness: i blák ti.

Cf. Te thi, ditto.

tólón

With tináp "stand", straight, still, erect, etc.: i tináp tólón.

Cf. Te tólón "ideophone signifying erectness, rigidity".

IV.2.4.10 Societies and the occult

betí

In the expression dē pút am betí, "he has been circumcized".

See next.

betíyélí

The smith who carries out the circumcision of society boys.

Cf. Te ó-bethí-yé¹lí, ditto.

fəngé

A death-bringing wind created by sorcery.

Cf. Te kə-fəngé, ditto (? <Su).

fəngré

To braid hair. Also in the compound iyá-fəngré, a hair-braider.

Cf. Te yá-fəngkrê "title within the Bondo Society", with interference from SY iya "mother".

krífi

Talisman.

Cf. Te k-érfi "spirit".

manéke

A moaning spirit of the Rabai and Ragbenle Societies.

Cf. Te mə-né¹ké, ditto, plural form (singular = ə-né¹ké).

rónkó

Society gown.

See IV.2.4.6 supra.

sámpa

Bondo Society dancer.

Cf. Te ə-sámpa, ditto (see VI.3.2.3, sámba).

sásá

A composite juju fetich.

Cf. Te ε-sásá "a swear" (and cf. sas, VI.3.1.2).

wánká

Prohibitive charm against theft, prepared from alombák (III.6.2.2), etc.

Cf. Te ə-wánká, ditto. Also Mdg wangó (<Te).

IV.2.4.11 Miscellaneous

fógbó }
fóbóya }

Name of any distant place.

Cf. Te ro-fógbó "name of a
place".

kálá

Money.

Cf. Te a-kálá, ditto.

korí

A tale, untrue story, lie, fable.

?Cf. Te =kórí "to hail, call,
salute" (with possible inter-
ference from Kr torí "story").

kúamá

Any kind of box.

Cf. Te k-úamá "box". Also Li
(< Te).

ninḱinaṅká

In the expression a swé bay ninḱi-
naṅká "I swear by n~", an oath of
honesty. In the Gambia this is
the name of a powerful malevolent
spirit.

Cf. Te í gbiṇ ka é-nin ka

ká-naṅká "I swear by chameleon excreta" (considered to be the epitome of insignificance).

rogbéngbé

General name for any trading centre.

Cf. Te ró-'gbéngbé "vegetable farm".

yén

Silence (usually as an exhortation).

Cf. Te yén, ditto. Also Guiné

Cr Ptg yém, an ideophone of intensity of quietness.

yóné

Thing, whatsit, gizmo.

Cf. Te a-yónê, ditto.

IV.3.0.0 MANDING

Ethnic groups speaking dialects of the Manding language in Sierra Leone include the Bambara, Dyula, Kuranko, Mandinka, Maninka and Manyaka. By far the most widely represented of these is the Maninka, usually referred to as Mandinka or Mandingo in Sierra Leone (maɗɪŋka in Krio⁽¹⁾). Mandinka, Bambara and Dyula speakers are not permanently resident in the country, coming from the Gambia and Mali and the Ivory Coast/Upper Volta.

IV.3.0.1 The Maninka entered Sierra Leone during the latter half of the 15th century primarily as traders, but with the Susu served the additional purpose of spreading Islam throughout the northern tribes. They settled in

1) Cf. the parallel lack of nasal in the Martinique Creole French form moudongue [mu'dɔŋ], "Mandinka" (Jourdain, 1956b). The Krio term maɗɪŋka, and the popular English literary Mandinka/Mandingo, usually include speakers of the numerically smaller Manding dialects mentioned here (see also IV.3.1.0).

several areas such as Forekaria (the "Mandingo Country" of early European writers), Fintonia, Karina and Kabala, where they established themselves as traders — especially in cattle — and disseminators of Islam. Their influence has been felt further south also; Little ⁽¹⁾ has noted Maninka influence upon the Mende physical type as well as in Mende social organization.

IV.3.0.2 Like the Yoruba, the Maninka are noted for their preference for closely-knit community life. During the first half of the 19th century many left their northern settlements and migrated to Freetown, where they established themselves around the western limits of the city. Here they acted as brokers for Maninka traders resident up-country. By 1850, most had moved from the fringes of town to Magazine Cut at Destruction Bay, because of its

1) Little (1951), p. 28. The Mende are said to regard the Maninka as being "aristocrats and clean" (op. cit. p. 73), and share a similar admiration for the Susu (see IV.4.0.3).

proximity to the main Freetown market. Here they were more easily able to carry out their trade, especially as butchers and cattle-traders, and to establish Koranic schools.

IV.3.0.3 The right to operate Koranic schools came at the end of a difficult period for the Maninka. During the Yoruba uprisings of the 1830's (see III.1.0.2) the disciplinarian Governor Findlay misguidedly blamed the Maninka and Fula for causing the unrest, claiming that they had led the Yoruba astray with Koranic doctrine ⁽¹⁾. In 1833 he banned all Maninka from the (mainly Yoruba) village of Waterloo, and shortly thereafter forbade any Muslim of any ethnic background into the villages, at the same time banning all but European dress. Despite his efforts, the Yoruba allied themselves with Maninka and Fula alfas in Freetown, and Islam was firmly estab-

1) Peterson (1969), p. 215.

lished in the Colony.

IV.3.0.4 The Maninka have always been characterized by their independence; while not themselves actively engaged in the Temne attack upon Freetown in 1801, they allowed King Tom's men to take refuge among them in northern Sierra Leone. During the slave trade the Maninka were much in demand for their reputed mental and physical dexterity, especially in Spanish America. Slave-revolts such as that at the Scarcies River were frequently Maninka-inspired. They were also noted for their humanitarian attitude toward their own slaves ⁽¹⁾; nevertheless they not infrequently brought children taken in slavery to Freetown, to be raised ostensibly in 'white man fashion' but in fact to be used as unpaid servants ⁽²⁾. Many of these were later lured out of the

1) Little, op. cit., p. 38n.

2) Fyfe (1962), p. 270.

Colony and traded for cattle. The Fula were similarly involved in this practice.

IV.3.0.5 During this period, many of the Freetown and village (especially Gloucester) Maninka permanently adopted the Creole life-style, and took European names, and may no longer be regarded as Maninka. Those who are still identifiable as such are probably all indigenous to the area, and not the descendants of the Recaptives. These latter are nowadays employed as weavers and dyers, goldsmiths, silversmiths, cattle-traders and mosque officials in Freetown; in the Provinces the Maninka are usually traders, but since the decline of the diamond area many have migrated to Guinea ⁽¹⁾.

IV.3.1.0 The Manding language

This constitutes a member of the northern branch of the Mande unit, other members discussed in this thesis being Vai (IV.5.0.0) and Susu (IV.4.0.0). As well as the

1) Dalby (1962), p. 63.

dialects mentioned above (IV.3.0.0), a Maninka-based lingua franca has developed throughout the area as the normal medium of intercourse amongst most of the Manding-speaking communities. This is known as Kangbe, lit. "clear language" (1), and it is probably from this that most adoptions into Krio have come. There are something over 241,415 Manding speakers (all dialects) in Sierra Leone at the present time (2).

IV.3.2.0 Maninka phonology

Maninka phonology differs little from other Manding dialects; differences which do occur are mainly tonal, or less commonly, consonantal (e.g. Maninka has the phoneme /dž/ where other dialects have /y/).

IV.3.2.1 The consonants

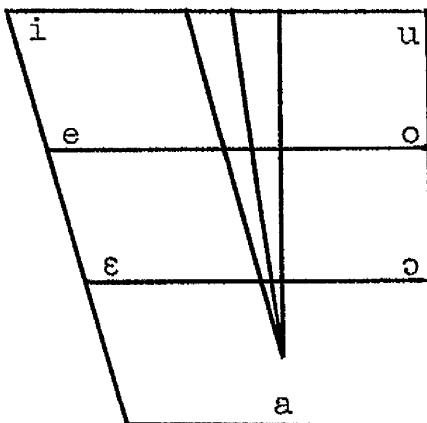
Maninka consonants may be tabulated as follows:

-
- 1) Dalby, loc. cit., and Westermann and Bryan (1970), p. 71.
 - 2) The figure of 241,415 is given in the 1963 Census.

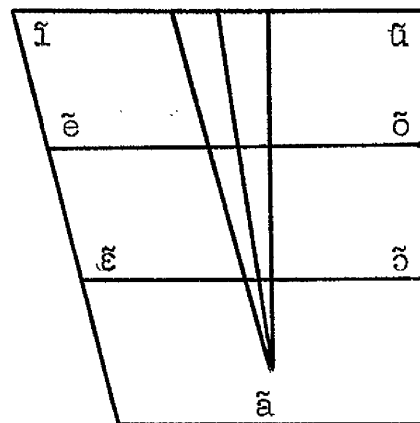
	Bilabial	Labio-dental	Dental-Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Labio-Velar	Glottal
Plosive	p b		t d		k g	gb	
Nasal	m		n		ŋ		
Affricate				tʃ dʒ			
Fricative		f	s				h
Lateral			l				
Roll			r				
Semi-vowel	w			y			

IV.3.2.2 The vowels

Oral



Nasal



IV.3.2.3 No sounds occur in Manding (based largely on Maninka forms where Krio is concerned) which do not also occur in Krio ⁽¹⁾; that forms in the two languages are therefore not more frequently alike is due to many Mdg items in Krio having entered via Temne, whose phonology differs in several respects from that of Mdg. Like Krio, Mdg operates a two-level tone system (see I.4.4.1), viz. high and low, although in the latter language these may both occur in the same syllable (i.e. as an upward glide) without significant lengthening: nisí "cow", sǎ "snake".

IV.3.2.4 Indications are that Krio tonal behaviour is most like that of Mdg — e.g. in its two levels (and terracing), and final-syllable stress, which operates on English-derived items and may have been incorporated prior to the multiling-

1) With the exception of the phonemes /ẽ/ and /õ/ (see I.4.2.On.), and Mdg /r/, which is realized as [ɾ] as in K2. Krio on the other hand, contains several phonemes not occurring in Manding.

ual situation in the 19th century. Even items derived from Yoruba, which African language has had the profoundest effect upon Krio, have lost their three-level distinction (see III. 1.1.8), and there are several examples of tone-reversal on disyllabic African-derived items ⁽¹⁾. This feature does not appear to have been inherited from any variety of English, either (but see II.1.1.9).

IV.3.3.0 Phonological modification

Very little modification appears to have taken place for items adopted directly into Krio from Mdg, nearly all changes noted being the result of such items having entered Krio via Temne:

Mdg <u>garang(b)á</u>	>	Te <u>k-arangbâ</u>	>	Kr <u>karangbá</u>
Mdg <u>kodo</u>	>	Te <u>u-kotho</u>	>	Kr <u>koto</u>
Mdg <u>kásángé</u>	>	Te <u>k-ásánké</u>	>	Kr <u>kásánké</u>

Where the Krio form remains unmodified, this suggests an

1) E.g. Kr tótwé "fish sp." (<Kra tótwe), lomlé~lómné
"to talk too much" (<Te lómne), etc.

immediate acquisition from Mdg:

Mdg <u>būyá</u>	>	Kr <u>būyá</u>	(cf. Te <u>a-boyâ</u>)
Mdg <u>santígí</u>	>	Kr <u>santígí</u>	(cf. Te <u>a-santhəkî</u>)

IV.3.3.1 Routes of semantic adoption

No intermediary language other than Temne seems to have acquired an item before it has been adopted into Krio. While Susu shares many cognates with Mdg, and is spoken throughout a large area of northern Sierra Leone, the Mdg are more numerous, and more frequently in contact with the Creoles, and many Susu themselves employ the Maninka-based lingua franca (IV.3.1.0) in their commercial dealings, rather than their own language. Thus Mdg items in Krio have either entered directly from that language, or via Temne. Where cognate forms occur in other languages spoken in Sierra Leone such as Hausa or Fula, e.g. nonó, būyá, kāyá, etc., they also appear to be present in Temne.

IV.3.4.0 Semantic areas of adoption

The Manding (mainly Maninka) in Sierra Leone came primarily as dispensers of Islam, and as traders and entertainers, and it is in these areas that their language has most

influenced Krio vocabulary. It is significant that while highly regarded in their religious and mercantile capacities by indigenous Sierra Leoneans, the Manding are poorly thought-of as entertainers, which profession is often considered to be synonymous with begging. The Creole population associates the Manding primarily with their strong adherence to Islam, and this is reflected by the fact that several items in Krio Muslim vocabulary are of indigenous Manding origin rather than of ultimate Arabic derivation. Only Yoruba shares this fact (1). Names of persons and their behaviour are well-represented, as are anatomical terms and terms for items of dress. Several opprobrious terms have also been adopted (e.g. kamabóró, mokofé, fóntóbá, etc.), as well as a pejorative interpretation for a few items (e.g.

-
- 1) Both Mdg and SY also contain large Islamic vocabularies which are Arabic-derived of course, and which have also been adopted into Krio.

soribá, a given name in Mdg but "houseboy" in Krio, or káráṅké "leather worker" in Mdg, but an epithet for a bad cobbler in Krio).

IV.3.4.1 Religion and magic

boféma }
bofíma }

A powerful composite charm, see

IV.1.4.2.

Cf. Mdg (Mnk) bori "medicine"

+ fima "black".

karamókó }
karamó }
kamó }

A teacher of Koranic doctrine.

Cf. Mnk karã-mó(g)ó/-mó(χ)ó,

"teacher" (< karã "to learn,

read" + mó(g)ó/mó(χ)ó "person".

Also Te u-karmókó.

karandé

Student of the Koran.

Cf. Mnk karandé "pupil (of any-
thing)" (< karã (above, with

convergence from korán?) + dé,

dé, "child". Also Te u-karandé.

kásáŋké

Shroud.

Cf. Mnk kásáŋgé, ditto. Also

Te k-ásáŋké, ditto.

kasí

Fine; repercussions from a social offence.

Cf. Mnk gasí "social offence",
via Te k-así "social offence,
esp. involving a secret society".

sāyá

To perform ritual ablutions.

Cf. Mdg sáníyá, sáníyá "clean;
to clean; cleanliness".

sébé

A kind of talisman or charm.

Cf. Mnk sébé "writing, paper".

Also Te a-sébê "written charm".

IV.3.4.2 Trade and financial transactions

būyá

Lagniappe as an inducement to further custom, or as favour to valued client.

Cf. Mnk būyá, bōyá "honour, homage, gift, offering, tip to an entertainer" (< bō "ample, big").

Also Susu "bugna", "gift", Bullom "buyah", "gift, alms", Te a-boyâ, Bambara bonya, etc. Less likely is SY é-bū "gift" or Scots, etc. "bunce", "bonus, commission, profit" (EDD), although convergence is possible.

džulamán

A moneylender, pawn-broker.

Cf. Mdg dyulá "name of a people",

Mnk džulá "trader", "a people".

máráká(-mán)

A Manding trader from Dakar, usually selling clothing, etc.

Cf. Mnk marká "Soninke, Saracolle".

mokofé

Bribery, esp. of an official.

Cf. Mnk mogó "person" + ?fyéré/féré "to sell".

IV.3.4.3 Persons

ba

Term of address between equals, usu. women.

Cf. Mnk ba "a term of address".

fóntóbá

A social outcast, gauche person.

Cf. Mdg fóntóbá "tramp, outcast",

fóntóbálf "irresponsible". Also

Te u-fónthóbá "irresponsible person".

kangbé(-krió)

Derogatory epithet for a Creole, implying that he has tribal (Mdg?) admixture (see I.3.0.3). This is also the old name for Hamilton Village, where Recaptive Manding were settled in the 1800's.

Cf. Mnk kangbé "clear language"

(see IV.3.1.0).

káráṅké

Shoemaker, esp. a poor one.

Cf. Mnk gáráṅké "leather worker",

via Te u-káráṅké, ditto.

koto

Fulani trader.

Cf. Mdg kodo, koro "old, elder,

uncle", via Te -kotho, ditto.

máráká(-mán)

See IV.3.4.2.

musú

Fulani woman, koto's wife. Also
fulá-musú.

Cf. Mnk musú, musó "female".

santígí

Chief's advisor (in non-Creole culture).

Cf. Mnk santígí, soltígí "councillor to a chief". Also Te
u-santhekí "sub-chief".

soribá

Nickname for a house-boy.

Cf. Mnk soribá "a given name".

yangámadí

Bastard, a term of abuse.

Cf. Mnk džankálemá-dé, ditto.

yelibá

Busker, beggar (in Sierra Leonean context).

Cf. Mnk dželibá "griot", via Te
u-yelibâ, ditto, but only referring to Manding or Susu individuals.

IV.3.4.4 Human qualities and behaviour

dabarú

Hypocritical.

Cf. Mnk dabarú, dabaró "underhand dealing, trickery".

See also VI.3.0.0.

damú

To be confounded, confused, made speechless with emotion (e.g. shame, joy, fear, etc.).

?Cf. Mdg daamú, dáamú "to be happy, to enjoy".

lantégé }
dantégé }

To chat, talk a lot.

Cf. Mnk dātégé, dantígé "to pronounce the limit". See also IV.4.5.5.

magomágo

Nervous, anxious, over-eager.

Cf. Mnk magó "need, concern".

See also VI.3.0.0.

negenége }
nengenénge }

Peevish, irritable, sensitive.

Cf. Mnk negé "desire". See

also VI.3.0.0.

yigí

Haughtiness, airs and graces (negative application of a positive term):

Cf. Mnk džigí, Su yikí "hope, confidence", via Te y-íkí "respect, dignity".

IV.3.4.5 Body parts and afflictions

kilík

Clitoris.

?Cf. Bam kílí, bye-kílí, ditto, with possible convergence from nautical Eng "killick", "a stone anchor" (surviving in Gullah)?

makrú

Rectal itch; for some speakers, also a sore, inflamed mouth.

Cf. Mka makurú, makuró "piles".

totó

Vulva.

Cf. Mnk totó, totú "parties sexuelles féminines".

tú }
tún }

To keep (someone) in a place.

Cf. Mnk tú, tó "remain, allow,
let, leave".

IV.3.4.6 Clothing

bubá

Blouse worn over a lappa.

Mnk bubá, bubó "blouse". Also

Wol buba "garments". See VI.

3.0.0.

gará

A garment dyed with indigo blue.

Cf. Mnk gará "indigo".

krutó

A style of baggy pants.

Cf. Mka kurtó, Mnk kursí, ku-
rusí "pantaloon".

totóndžá

Loincloth.

Cf. Mdg totóndžá "cache-sexe".

First recorded by Clarke (1843)

p. 167 as "tuntungie".

tšéntšentšě

Smartly, dapperly (dressed).

?Cf. Bam ce-nyí "beautiful".

yamadú }
yamadúgú }

A kind of fabric.

Cf. Mnk džamá "German" + dugú

"country", via Te kə-yamandúgú

ditto; a German import.

IV.3.4.7 Music

balándží

Thumb-piano, made with bamboo tines
bound with leather thongs.

Cf. Mnk balá (+ nyí in Susu?),

ditto. Called baláfón in Gam-

bian Krio (Aku).

kondí

Thumb-piano, sansa. The shift of
meaning from Mdg "guitar" suggests
that this instrument was viewed as
a substitute for that instrument,
possibly because of the six keys
corresponding to the six strings of
a guitar.

Cf. Mnk kondí "guitar". Also

Te a-kondí "sansa".

yelibá

See IV.3.4.3.

IV.3.4.8 Birds and insects

bog'bóg }
gbogbóg }

Termite, white ant. Aku and Liberian English both have bogabóg, which seems closer to the source-form. First recorded by Moore in 1738.

Cf. Mka bagabaga (n.t.),

Susu bogboxí "termite".

džambatútú

Crested cuckoo, a symbol of ill fortune.

Cf. Mnk džambadódó, džambatótú,
ditto.

džoló

Tsetse-fly, glossina morsitans.

Mnk džóló-fě "tsetse-fly (lit.
'sting-thing')".

karangbá

Body-louse, pediculus.

Cf. Mnk garangá (or dialect
form retaining -gb-), ditto,

via Te k-arangbâ.

káré }
kánggré }

Viper.

Cf. Mdg gáré "snake". Also

Mende kalí, Bullom ker, etc.

tumbú

Grub, maggot.

Cf. Mnk tumbú, tumú, ntumú, dit-
to (cognates in Vai túmbu, Me
túmbú).

yubá

Vulture, nechrosytes monachus.

Cf. Mnk džubá, Su džubé, via Te
a-yibá. Also Me yubá.

IV.3.4.9 Plants

bará

Melon sp.

Cf. Mnk bará "calabash; something
round".

diyambá }
džambá }
gyambá }

Cannabis, Indian hemp.

Cf. Mnk džambá "tobacco". See
also IV.5.2.1.

kāyá

Alligator pepper.

Cf. Mnk kaní, ditto. See

VI.3.0.0.

kin̄kilibá

Chinchona bark, used to prepare
tonics against malaria.

Cf. Bam kaṅkalibá, West African French quinquéliba "com-
bretum micranthum, a febrifuge".

taṅkóró

A sp. of locally-grown tobacco.

Cf. Mnk taṅkóró, Koranko taṅ-
goró (n.t.), ditto, via Te.
a-thaṅkorô?

IV.3.4.10 Food and eating

fantá

A gift, usually of food.

Cf. Mnk faná, fandá "gift of
food to strangers", via Te
a-fáanthá, ditto.

nónó

Cow's milk, usu. sour.

Cf. Mnk nónó "cow's milk", also
Te mə-nónô "sour milk".

sambá

To present a gift, usu. of food.

Cf. Mnk samá, sambá "gift; to present". Taken to the Congo (see III.5.2.1) and occurring in Kikongo, Tshiluba and Umbundu as samba "to pay homage".

IV.3.4.11 Miscellaneous

fúfafú

Willy-nilly, at random.

Cf. Mnk fufafú "sans raison".

na

Locative preposition.

Cf. Mnk na "locative postposition (see VI.1.1.1).

ronsó
ronšó
wonšó }

A kindly spirit which watches over hunters, carries their pouch and gun, and which can cause skin rashes.

Cf. Mnk donsó "hunter".

móné

Trouble.

Cf. Mka móné, ditto.

IV.4.0.0 SUSU

In ca. 1235, after a prolonged battle for trade routes in what is to-day Mali and north-eastern Guinea, the Susu under their king Sumanguru were defeated by the Maninka (who were led by King Sundiata), and fled as refugees to the mountainous areas some 100 miles north of the Sierra Leone Peninsula (1).

IV.4.0.1 The Susu and Maninka (see IV.3.0.0) had been trading in the Sierra Leone area since the arrival of the Portuguese in the late 1400's; both groups were also instrumental in introducing Islam to that part of the coast. Because of the long tradition of Islam amongst the Susu, the Church Missionary Society had little success during the time its members spent north of Freetown, and the work begun in 1804 was eventually abandoned.

IV.4.0.2 Not all the Susu were Muslims, but those who

1) See Fage (1969), pp. 20, 38-9, Peterson (1969), pp. 34, 241-2 and 267.

were belonged to the majority of the 2,000 inhabitants of Freetown who claimed Islam as their religion for the 1848 Census. The other groups contributing to this number were the Maninka (IV.3.0.0), Fula (IV.6.0.0) and Oku (III.1.0.0), although for many of the latter group their faith was less deep-rooted. The Susu were influenced to some extent by the Oku, developing their own form of the Egúgú, and later the Alikálí societies (see III.1.4.1 and III.1.4.2).

IV.4.0.3 Although the Susu enjoyed some measure of prestige amongst many non-Creole groups ⁽¹⁾, they were not so well regarded by the Creole population, who viewed them with the same distain they accorded most indigenous peoples. Creole-Susu conflict was evident on several occasions throughout the 19th century; in 1801 the Susu

1) The Mende, for example, admired their strict adherence to Islamic law, and the resulting good behaviour of the Susu wives (Little [1951], p. 169).

joined with the Temnes and some exiled Settlers under King Tom in an unsuccessful raid upon the Freetown Settlement, and at the end of the century, in 1895, they took part in a massacre of Creoles in the Protectorate, allying themselves with Mende, Mabanta-Temne, Bullom, Vai and Loko warriors.

IV.4.0.4 During the 19th century, Susu-speaking Liberated Africans were settled mainly at Regent Village, but had become absorbed into Creole society by the end of the century. The non-recaptive Susu, i.e. those who had come to Freetown of their own accord from northern Sierra Leone, along with the Mende and Temne made up most of the semi-itinerant cheap labour force in Freetown; to what extent liberated Susu rejoined their tribe, or became creolized, is not known, but that the feeling of tribal loyalty was strong for many is borne out by the several partially-successful attempts on their part to establish Susu rule in such areas as Kambia and Port Loko.

IV.4.0.5 Nowadays the Susu are mainly traders, or connected with the various practical aspects of Islam, in Freetown and the Peninsula. Most Creoles regard the Susu favourably.

IV.4.1.0 The Susu language

Susu is a member of the northern branch of Mande languages, being most closely related to Manding and Vai. It is spoken along the coast of Sierra Leone above Freetown, where it is gradually ousting Northern Bullom, and along the north-eastern border into southern Guinea. It exists in two principal dialects in Sierra Leone, that of Tambakha being very close to the dialect of the Yalunka, spoken in the north-east of the country.

IV.4.2.0 Susu phonology

Susu phonology is almost identical with that of the Manding languages (see IV.3.1.1), differing principally in tone. Susu also includes the compound phonemes /nd/ and /ŋg/ in its phonemic inventory, which do not occur in Manding.

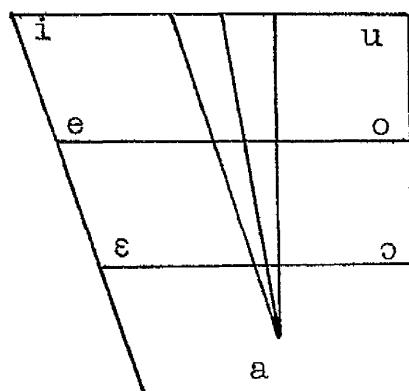
IV.4.2.1 The consonants

Susu consonants may be tabulated as follows:

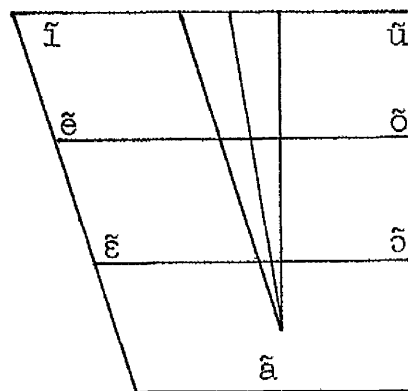
	Bi-labial	Labio-dental	Dental Alveo.	Palat.	Velar	Labio-velar	Glott.
Plosive	p b		t d		k g	gb	
Nasal compound			nd		ŋg		
Nasal	m		n	ɲ	ŋ		
Affricate							
Fricative		f	s		χ		h
Lateral			l				
Roll			r				
Semi-vowel	w			y			

IV.4.2.2 The vowels

Oral



Nasal



The vowel system is the same for both Krio and Susu, with the exception of /ẽ/ and /õ/ which do not normally occur in Krio (becoming /V + N/).

IV.4.2.3 There are four categories of syllable structure in Susu, viz. V, CV, CVV and CVC ⁽¹⁾, all also occurring in Krio, and four contrastive tones: High, low, rising and falling. Where Susu items have been located in sources not indicating tone (such as Raimbault, 1885), these are followed by (n.t.) in the accompanying word-lists.

IV.4.3.0 Phonological modification

Phonologically Susu items in Krio have undergone little change. The only phonemes not occurring in Krio are /χ/, and /nd/ and /ŋg/ in initial position. The former becomes /k/ in baŋkí, "hut", (Su bãχí); no examples of Krio items from Susu forms with initial /nd/ or /ŋg/ have been noted. In one instance a change of vowel has been

1) This, and other remarks on Susu phonology, is from Houis (1963).

found, viz. Krio kalokáló, Susu kalukálú, "deceitful".

Tonally, no modification has been noted in the available data.

IV.4.4.0 Routes of semantic adoption

Susu items have entered Krio either directly or via another language, usually Temne. Noted elsewhere are those Susu-derived items in Krio ultimately of Arabic origin, such as alíkálí, marabú, yabás (See V.0.0.0), and those also occurring in Manding, such as kató, fantá, sébé (See IV.3.0.0), the latter language being the more likely source of the Krio forms (See IV.3.1.0).

IV.4.5.0 Semantic areas of adoption

Susu-derived Krio vocabulary is not extensive; the largest semantic group appears to be botanical. There are no terms for prepared food from Susu, while the only term connected with cooking, viz. lubí, "rock potash (used as seasoning and a meat tenderizer)", was probably an item of trade. One anatomical term has been found (dulí), and one term connected with human action (bambá), although several have to do with human personality and relationships. Sev-

eral Susu-derived items are connected with (mostly non-Creole) clothing ⁽¹⁾, and two with (non-Creole) accommodation. While Little has noted that the Susu are the principal adherents of Islam in Sierra Leone ⁽²⁾, no items from their language have appeared to have entered Krio Muslim vocabulary. Classifiable as pejorative vocabulary are the items baŋkí and koŋkó, "house" in Susu but "shack" in Krio; the presence of an African (i.e. Susu)-derived item for "buttocks", dulí, is also typical in Krio, where semi-taboo vocabulary is seldom derived from English.

IV.4.5.1 Botanical

fúndé

Hungry rice, *digitaria exilis*.

Cf. Su fúndé(-nyí), "hungry rice".

Also Mdg fini, WAFr fonio.

-
- 1) Little (1951) p. 70 states that the Susu are noted for their characteristic attire, viz. fez, full-buttoned gown, and slippers. None of the words for these items in Krio is Susu-derived, however.
- 2) Op. cit., p. 169.

kɔbɔkɔbɔ

Egg-plant sp.

Cf. Su kɔbɔkɔbɔ, "aubergine".

Also Te a-kɔbɔkɔbɔ (Dalziel).

simíndži

(Imported) cloves.

Cf. Su simingui (n.t.), siminji

(n.t.), "clou de girofle", al-

though possibly Krio-derived

since this item is not indigen-

ous to West Africa.

tolá

Beilshmieda mannii, a mucilagenous

ingredient used in soups. Also the

seeds of this plant.

Cf. Su tola (n.t.), "spicy cedar

seeds, beilshmieda mannii".

IV.4.5.2 Food

Of the two items listed here, one is concerned with the preparation of food, and the other with the eating of food. The lack of any terms referring to prepared foodstuffs suggests either that the Susu cuisine

differed little or not at all from that of neighbouring tribes, or that Susu traders dealt only with raw ingredients.

lubí

Rock potash, used in the preparation of food as a meat-tenderizer, drawing agent for mucilagenous ingredients in stews, and as a seasoning. It is also used to remove stumps of rotted teeth from the gums.

Cf. Su lubí (n.t.), "poudre qu'on met dans le tabac".

mondó

To take a portion of food in the hand or fingers to convey to the mouth.

Cf. Su mõdó, "donner une poignée".

IV.4.5.3 Dwellings

Two terms for dwelling-types have been found, both referring to non-Creole accommodation, and both exhibiting pejorative semantic shift.

baŋkí

Hut.

Cf. Su bãxí, "maison".

koŋkó

Shack, lean-to built onto existing structure.

Cf. Su kõkó, "maison". Also

Te a-koŋko, "room".

IV.4.5.4 Human body and actions

bambá

To carry on the back, often tautologically in Krio, bambá na bak.

Cf. Su bãbá, "porter sur le dos".

Also Mdg bamú, bambú, etc., Te

=bámbá, "to carry on the back".

dulí }
duls }

Buttocks.

Cf. duli (n.t.), "fesses". Note also the form duls as a term of distain in da nó ge' duls fɔ du wit mi o, "that has absolutely nothing to do with me". For the

presence of final -s in the alter-

nate Krio pronunciation, see II.1.1.7.

IV.4.5.5 Human personality

dantégé }
lantégé }

To chat, be talkative.

?Cf. Su dātége, "se présenter".

kalokáló

Sneaky, unreliable, deceitful.

Cf. Su kalukálú, "être espiègle".

kɔntɔfíli(n) }
kɔntafíli(n) }

Antipathy, mutual ill-will, misunderstanding.

Cf. Su kɔ̃tɔfíli, "embarrassé".

Also Mdg kono-na-fili, "troubler",

Lim kɔntɔfili-wo, "astonishment".

Convergence from Eng "counter-
feelings" (See VI.3.0.0).

mereméré

Childish showing-off, also in the
phrase mereméré-meresémbe with the
same meaning.

Cf. Su méréméré, "être orgueil-

leux". See also III.4.4.3.

IV.5.5.6 Clothing

džarasá

Waist-cloth (of four smaller pieces stitched together) worn by girls after Bondo initiation.

Cf. Su yaransia (n.t.), "cache-sexe". Also Te ε-yaransía.

Initial dž- suggests Mdg rather than Su, but not located in that language.

laprá

Hat type.

Cf. Su lavrîâ, via Te α-laprâ, "hat".

rombó }
rumbó }

Patch on clothing; patchwork gown.

Cf. Su rombo (n.t.), "plâtre, pièce d'un habit". Also Men lombó.

témlé }
témúlé }

Short dress worn over lapá, also called pantapí.

Cf. Su temule (n.t.), "gar-
ment type". Also from Su is

Te a-témúlé, with same meaning.

yaṅkrá-fúgbagba

Style of baggy trousers worn by men.

Cf. Su yangra (n.t.) "style of
trousers", via Te ε-yaṅkrâ, +

Te ε-fúgbagba, "baggy trousers".

IV.5.0.0 VAI

The Vai, called Galínes in Krio ⁽¹⁾ have been settled at the Gallinas Estuary since at least the 18th century ⁽²⁾, having arrived there from the interior, and were converted to Islam at an early period. A related tribe, the Kono, stopped off in the mountains away from the coast. The Vai may be the 'Manes' of early explorers' accounts; they are linked culturally with the Mende, and

-
- 1) Probably named after the Gallinas River from whence they come. Traditionally the name Gallinas derives from the fact that the inhabitants of the area in the 16th century supplied Portuguese visitors with large quantities of fowls (Ptg galinhas), but this would seem to predate the arrival of the Vai in the area (H.C. Luke, A bibliography of Sierra Leone, (1925), p. 33). The term galinhas was used from ca. 1520 on that part of the coast as a measure of cowrie currency (M. Johnson, "The cowrie currencies of West Africa", Pt. I, Journal of African History, XI,1 (1970), p. 42).
- 2) Fyfe (1962), p. 6.

may have been instrumental in bringing Poro to that tribe, and hence to the rest of Sierra Leone.

IV.5.0.1 The majority of Vai speakers are bilingual in Mende, the latter language being spoken throughout the entire Vai-speaking area in Sierra Leone.

IV.5.1.0 Vai is a northern Mande language, most closely related to Kono, Manding and Susu. It is spoken between the Loffa and Sulima Rivers, along the Gallinas River to its estuary, and along the Saint Paul and Mesurado Rivers. It has a well-established indigenous script invented ca. 1833 (1).

IV.5.2.0 In 1813 a shipload of Vai-speaking Recaptives was landed at Freetown, and settled at Regent (2). Although no record exists to support the suggestion, it is

1) For linguistic notes on the Vai language, consult Westermann and Bryan (1970), p. 35, and for the current situation of the Vai script, Gail Stewart, "Notes on the present-day usage of the Vai Script in Liberia", African Language Review, VI.71-74 (1967).

2) Fyfe, op. cit., p. 119.

probable that most of these eventually returned to their own people on the Liberian border.

IV.5.2.1 The Vai language has had little effect upon Krio vocabulary, probably because Vai speakers in Freetown used Mende outside the home, and identified themselves nominally with that tribe. The two languages share several items which have cognates in Krio (e.g. dombáy, diyambá, miamía); these have been listed under Mende (IV.1.0.0) as the more likely immediate source. Fewer items are of Arabic origin (móre, kasará), and are listed in their respective Vai forms in V.0.0.0.

IV.5.3.0 Vai vocabulary in Krio

The few Vai-derived items in Krio are restricted to human beings, the body, and one bird-name. Two of the commonest items in Krio (bobó and tití) occur in Vai, but may have entered Krio from that language. With the exception of botú, all the items listed here also occur in Gullah.

bobó }
babá }

Small boy; affectionate term for

a male friend; "sonny", to a child whose name is unknown.

Cf. Vai bobó, "name given to a little boy when his real name is not known". Also Gullah bÁbe, "little boy", Mdg ba, "a term of endearment to a child", Eng bubba, "baby".

botú

Penis.

Cf. Vai bótu, "prepuce", bótu tíe, "to circumcise".

podžó
podžó-langa-fút }

Stork.

Cf. Vai pódžo, "heron", also Gullah pójo, "heron", folk-etymologized to "Poor Joe". Fernando Po Creole has poyo lon fut (de Zarco).

tití

Little girl; term of address for a daughter (tití džónsin, "Miss John-

son"); name given to a small girl
whose name is unknown.

Cf. Vai tití, "name given to
a little girl when her real
name is not known". Also Gul-
lah títi, títe, "little girl",
Eng dialect titty, "a young
girl" (Sc., Nhmb., Cumb., Lancs.).

IV.6.0.0 FULA

The Fulani (called fula in Krio) have been trading in the Sierra Leone area for nearly as long as the Manding, and have been settled in Freetown since ca. 1828, when Foulah Town was built there.

IV.6.0.1 Despite their long coexistence, there is little social contact between Creole and Fulani, both groups remaining more or less aloof from the other groups amongst whom they live — the Creoles because of their feelings of cultural superiority, and the Fulani by their strict adherence to Islam and their awareness of their ethnic and physiological distinction from other groups in Sierra Leone (1).

IV.6.0.2 In Freetown, the Fulani are usually engaged in trading, and are the main suppliers of milk and milk products — although words for such items are not Fula-derived

1) This has been commented on in M. Banton, West African city: A study of tribal life in Freetown (1957).

in Krio. Also not of Fula origin are the terms for the Fulani themselves, viz. koto (a Fulani man, especially a trader), and músu or fula-músu (a Fulani woman), both of which are of Manding origin.

IV.6.1.0 The language as spoken by the Sierra Leonean Fulani is known as Krio Fula (KrF), and contains a considerable number of lexical adoptions from local languages, including Krio itself. Fulani immigrants from Guinea speak either the Futa Jalon (FJ) dialect, or Kabu Fula ⁽¹⁾. The language is spoken by both migrant and settled communities, especially in northern Sierra Leone.

IV.6.2.0 Fula items in Krio

Few items of Fula origin are apparent in Krio. This may be due to the lack of social contact between the two groups ⁽²⁾; it is interesting to compare the difference

1) Dalby (1962), p. 66.

2) The general Creole attitude is not good; body-lice (Kr karangbá, < Mdg) are commonly identified with the Fulani, and the term yongoro-fula (a place-name + Fula) is an opprobrious term for a scruffy person.

between Fulani and Oku traders, the former remaining distinct from the Creoles and not having supplied any trading terms (with the exception perhaps of kalísis, "money"), while the latter became an integral part of Creole society, supplying a great many trading terms (see III.1.4.12).

IV.6.2.1 The only item in Krio of indisputable Fula origin (1) is:

kalísis

Money.

Cf. Ful ɣalís, "money".

Other items possibly resulting from convergence of a Fula form with some other language, include:

móna

To bore, make fed-up, annoy.

Cf. Ful (FJ) monna, "be

annoyed". Also Eng "more

-
- 1) English-derived compounds containing the element fula- include fula-bóta, "cassia-nut pulp" and fula-tóp, "a man's hairstyle".

nor", not recorded for English itself, but occurring in differing forms in Sranan (more), Trinidad (moe dan), Guyana (more dan) and Nigerian Pidgin (more na), all with the same meaning. Cf. also Mdg mone, "trouble".

nyam

To eat (old-fashioned).

Cf. Ful (FJ) nyami, nyama, "to eat". A similar root exists throughout much of West and Bantu Africa with various closely related meanings, usually "food", "meat", etc. Also Gu, JC, Sr.

tšuk

To prick, pierce, stab. Also by extension, tšuktšúk, "thorn".

Cf. KrF tšuk, FJ džukka, "to prick or stab". Also Eng chack, "to pierce with a pointed instrument", and Bullom tšu, "to

stab, pierce".

IV.6.2.2 Several other items are shared by both Fula and Krio, and are due to a third source, e.g. tawakáltu, ma-síbo (from Arabic), balándži, bámbá (from Manding), and džokakí, wáya (from English). Fula forms in this category are cited in the relevant chapters.

IV.7.0.0 KRA AND OTHER KRU LANGUAGES

The first Kru to come to Freetown — mainly Kra, Grebo and Bassa — arrived in 1793, and were employed by the St. George's Bay Company, and on the Freetown wharf ⁽¹⁾.

IV.7.0.1 The name Kru (spelt "Kroo") has been applied in the past to any Liberian seaman, irrespective of his tribal background, although most have spoken related languages. Nowadays, Kru has become a linguistic term, and includes all the languages which with Kra, Grebo and Bassa appear to constitute a discrete unit.

IV.7.1.0 At the invitation of the Colony's first Crown Governor, Thomas Perronet Thompson, Kru colonists began to settle in larger numbers in the Colony from ca. 1808. Their original settlement was in the King Tom Peninsula, between Kroo Bay and White Man's Bay, where Kroo Town now stands. By 1822 Kru settlers numbered 500 ⁽²⁾. They

1) Fyfe (1962), p. 78.

2) Butt-Thompson (1952), pp.31-37.

have always been well-regarded in Freetown (1), and until almost the end of the century were the only group to have a head man officially recognized by the Colonial Government (2).

IV.7.1.1 Kru languages are spoken over large areas of what are to-day Liberia and the Ivory Coast. Kra, the most important vis-à-vis Krio, is spoken along the Liberian coast between the Sino River and Cape Palmas. According to Kru informants with relatives there, there are substantial Kru communities in New York, Cardiff, London and Liverpool, where the language and clan-system (see IV.7.1.2) are still maintained.

IV.7.1.2 In Freetown, Kra alone has developed as the

1) Although during the earliest years of settlement the Kru were mistrusted, and Kroo Town "took on a low social connotation" (Porter [1963], p. 95). While the 1848 Census lists the Kru population in Freetown as comprising just 60 Bassa, the whole Kru population for the same year is given as 743 in R.R. Kuczynski, Demographic survey (n.d.), p. 82.

2) Fyfe (op. cit.), p. 455.

lingua franca of the community, and tribal clan-divisions have been maintained, due probably to the sporadic influx of Liberian Kru. Such clans have such names as Grand Cess and Pikni Cess — the names of rivers and towns in Liberia — and as in that country the Freetown Kru have adopted European surnames, such as Reeves, Davies and Browne ⁽¹⁾.

IV.7.2.0 While the Kru languages are structurally similar to other West African languages such as Yoruba, Twi, etc., they appear to differ considerably in lexicon. The Kru languages themselves are not inter-intelligible ⁽²⁾.

They are characterized by complex phonologies, including syllabic nasals (e.g. Kra nmurme, "bitter"), and such consonantal combinations as m + r, m + l and m + gb (e.g. Kra mriedo, "six", mlã, "nose", se-mgbati, "daybreak"). Other non-Krio phonemes include the vowels [ə] and [y]. Kra and Grebo each operate a four-level tone system (high ´, low `,

1) D. Dalby and P.E.H. Hair, "Le langage de Guynee", African Language Studies, V, (1964), pp. 182-3.

2) Westermann and Bryan (1970), p. 54.

mid-high ˆ and mid-low ˊ (1)). It was not possible to make a thorough analysis of Kra tone for the purposes of the few items discussed here, and as a consequence tone marks have been omitted (2).

IV.7.3.0 Kru vocabulary in Krio

It seems that the Kru have always preferred to speak Krio with little admixture from their own languages. They are among the most fluent (notionally "deepest") non-Creole speakers of Krio in Sierra Leone, and Krio on more than one occasion has been referred to in literature as "Kroo English" (3). Considering the long period of contact between

1) Notation used for Grebo in Innes (1967). No data were available for Bassa and other Kru languages.

2) Although shift of stress has been noted in the Krio adoptions, e.g. the fish totwe, bearing penultimate stress in Kra, and final stress in Krio (according to informant CD).

3) E.g. in H.O. Newland, Sierra Leone, its peoples, products and secret societies, London (1943), p. 12. The Kru situation indicates that a creole may exist as a second language for decades without nativizing.

the Kru and the Creoles, it is noteworthy that more Kru items have not entered Krio; the situation is paralleled by the case of the Sherbro-Bullom speakers (see IV.9.0.0). Because of the reverse situation however, i.e. the large amount of Krio vocabulary in Freetown Kra, it has not always been possible to ascertain in which direction the items listed below have travelled, and most of those listed here must be viewed with circumspection. Speakers are aware that "Freetown Kru" is heavily overlayed with Krio, and consider it not to be "good" Kru, as spoken in Liberia.

IV.7.3.1 Fish names

While not primarily fishermen, the Kru have a long nautical tradition, and it is not surprising that several of the names of species of fish in Krio are of Kru (mainly Kra) origin:

kiní
kiní-kutá }

Barracouda fry.

Cf. Kra tšini "barracouda fry" (CD). Krio form suggests shift from a Kra form with a

palatal rather than affricate

initial consonant: *cini.

tapón

Fish sp.

Cf. Kra tapõ, "called tapón
in Krio" (CD).

tení

Tennifish.

Cf. Kra tende, "Krio tení",
(CD, MK).

totwé

Grouper fish, epinephelus.

Cf. Kra totwe, "grouper" (CD).

IV.7.3.2 Human body and actions

As has shown to be the case with other African languages whose lexical contributions to Krio are small, the majority of Kru or possibly Kru-derived items in that language are concerned with the body and its afflictions, or with customs peculiar to the Kru. The Krio treatment of local African vocabulary may be reflected in yoboyóbó, an opprobrious rather than complementary term.

bébé

Disease causing skin-eruptions on
the genitals.

Cf. Kra bebe, "ditto" (CD).

gbénko

Withered arm, with puckered, dead skin.

Cf. Kra gbenke, "paralyzed arm"

(CD, unknown to MK).

gbongbo

A mud and herb-based facepack, prepared and sold by the Kru, and used cosmetically.

Cf. Kra gbongbo, "ditto", (MK).

The term also exists in Temne.

kekrebú
kekerebú }

To die, fail; dead. Sawyerr (1940) lists this as Kru kekerebu, "dance of death", with semantic shift, but the term is unknown to CD and MK. See full discussion, III.4.4.2.

kpókpó

To maul, hug tightly, manhandle.

Cf. Gr kpókpó, "to be tight".

See also III.4.4.3.

tatí

Enema prepared from kāyá-pepper and parinari seeds, which the Kru admin-

inister to their children, apparently to get them accustomed to digesting highly-peppered food.

Cf. Kra tati, "ditto", (CD, MK).

yəbəyábbó

Loose, wet, flabby, to describe a person's lips or mouth: yu get y~ mət.

Cf. Gr yəbbó, "soft", yəbbóyəbbó,

"to be very soft".

IV.7.3.3 Plants

The only plant-names of Kru origin located in Krio are concerned with the Kru themselves, either having been introduced by them or used by them for their own purpose:

tápe

A species of pepper much enjoyed by the Kru. A nickname for the Kru themselves.

Cf. Kra tape, "pepper sp.",

"personal name". Both Kra informants objected to tápe as a nickname.

to }
tun }

Sour-sop seeds, sometimes used in the

preparation of tatí (see IV.7.3.2).

Cf. Kra tšo (CD), tš (MK), and

Gr tò, "dried, crushed sour-sop seeds, mixed with pepper as a flavouring agent".

tšo-súp

Type of stew prepared and much favoured by the Kru peoples.

Cf. Kra tšo, above, + Eng soup.

IV.7.3.4 Miscellaneous

ferégbe

Poor-quality, unsuccessful.

Cf. Kra felegbe, "ditto", (CD).

krawó

Burnt rice stuck to bottom of pot; by extension, scab, mucus, etc.

Cf. krao, klao, "Kra name for themselves". The Kru are said to enjoy eating krawó, although this may be an example of folk-etymologizing.

penswá

Coppers, small-change, a trifling

amount.

Cf. Gr pēsòà, "a trifling
amount". Also Twi pésewa,
"three halfpence".

kanga

Magic.

Cf. Kra ganga, "magic", (CD).

IV.8.0.0 LIMBA

Contact between the Limba and the Creoles is comparatively recent; no Limba was recorded as resident in Freetown at the time of the 1848 Census, and it was not until the 1880's that they came to Freetown in any great numbers.

IV.8.0.1 The Limba have generally been hostile to their neighbours, in particular the Yalunka, Susu and Temne, and it has been the latter especially who have had the most profound influence upon Limba vis-à-vis Krio, in that items of ultimate Limba origin have often entered Krio via Temne.

IV.8.1.0 Limba has been reclassified as an isolated class language ⁽¹⁾ from its earlier provisional identification as a member of the Kissi-Landoma group ⁽²⁾. It is spoken in several local varieties between the Rokel and Scarcies Rivers in northern Sierra Leone, and just over the border into Guinea.

1) See D. Dalby, "The Mel languages", African Language Studies, VI (1965), pp. 1-17.

2) Westermann and Ward (1970), p. 12.

IV.8.1.1 The comparatively late arrival of Limba in Freetown (originally as labourers), and the cultural/linguistic dominance of the Temne in the area between Freetown and the homeland of the Limba, has meant that few items from that language have entered Krio. With a few exceptions, those which may be shown to be of ultimate Limba origin have been adopted by the Temne first, and it is from Temne that Krio has received them.

IV.8.1.2 Throughout the period of Temne-Limba conflict, it has been the case that the Limba have had to learn Temne, while (according to Limba informants) the Temne maintain that before they learn Limba, they would rather suffer a disease of the legs ("bifó a tók limbá, mək sofút kómót na mi fut"). In public at least, the Limba in Freetown probably found it more convenient to employ Temne, if not Krio, and so the greater part of Limba-derived vocabulary in both Krio and Temne is concerned with customs peculiar to them, or with which they are generally associated.

IV.8.2.0 Limba items in Krio

The largest single semantic group of items of Limba

origin consists of names for locally-produced fermented beverages (palm-wine, beer), which are traditionally prepared and sold by the Limba. Two items connected with fresh-water fish occur, two concerned with personality, and two with specifically Limba entertainments. The name of the characteristically Limba gown has passed into Krio, but is used only in the context of Limba apparel. One anatomical term of possible multiple etymology has been located, as well as several miscellaneous items also of multiple etymology discussed in VI.3.0.0, and including kin, úna, na, máta, etc.

IV.8.2.1 Drink

makaló }
makóló }

Palm wine.

Cf. Lim makólo, ditto.

mámpama

Palm wine.

Cf. Lim mampa-ma, ditto.

matánk-matós

Palm wine. One Creole informant

(speaking no Limba) maintained

that this was of Limba origin, and

meant "it is cold, it is boiling",
and was a slang term for this drink.

?Cf. Lim ma-thebe me tóri, "it
is cold, it is boiling". Accord-
ing to the informant, this
does not mean "palm wine" in
(Tonko) Limba.

safrokó

Palm wine.

Cf. Lim safrokó, ditto. This
is also the name of a division
within the Limba tribe, who are
noted for their skill in palm-
wine making.

tombó

Locally-brewed beer.

Cf. Lim ton-bo, "native beer".

IV.8.2.2 Fish

kangá

Bream.

Cf. Lim kangá, ditto (<Krio?)

wáláwálá

In shoals, of fish swimming.

Cf. Lim wáláwálá, "(of fish),
with tails swishing".

IV.8.2.3 Personality

gbákanda }
kpákanda }

Brazen, bold, defiant, outspoken.

Cf. Lim bákanda-wo, "harlot",
and by extension, "the manner
of a harlot".

teké

To underestimate a person.

Cf. Lim teke-bu, "grudge" (Cl-
arke), teké, "to underrate" (IS).
Also Te.

IV.8.2.4 Limba entertainments

téntémuté

A doll-like figure on an elastic string
which is danced on a stick at Christmas.

Cf. Lim thénthémuthê, ditto. Te
has ó-thenthemúrthé, "rag doll on
a string; puppet to amuse child-
ren", but tonal difference suggests
direct adoption from Limba.

tonkobelé

- 1) A game which involves tossing a coin.

Cf. Lim tonkobelé, ditto.

- 2) To misbehave, of children.

Cf. Lim tonko, "bad, badly-behaved" + influence from sense 1)? Also Te ó-thonko-belé, "misbehaviour, troublesome-ness".

IV.8.2.5 Clothing

rónkó

A style of brown gown worn by the Limba.

Cf. Lim rónkó, "country cloth gown".

While no Limba-derived names for items of footwear appear to have passed into Krio, the names limbá-afbák ("Limba half-back") and limbá-slípas ("Limba slippers") are used in Krio for sandals made from old car tires.

IV.8.2.6 Anatomical

taliwán

Penis.

Cf. Lim talí, ditto, + ?Kr

wan, "one" (see II.3.4.4).

IV.8.3.0 Items which occur in both Krio and Limba, but which are probably of Temne or Krio origin, are listed elsewhere, and the Limba form noted. This category includes lontá, krífi, kóngómá, kondí, bosbós, podapóda and kúma.

IV.9.0.0 SHERBRO-BULLOM

Bullom is spoken along the West African coast from the Guinea border to Turner's Peninsula, and in many of the coastal settlements in the Sierra Leone Peninsula, in four dialects. In Krio a distinction is made between the people on the coast north of the Sierra Leone River (called in Krio bolóm), and those along the coast south of Freetown (called šébra). "In most areas Bullom appears to be retreating in favour of Susu, Mende or Temne, and one or other of these exists alongside Bullom in almost every area where the language is spoken ⁽¹⁾".

IV.9.0.1 For this reason most Bullom speakers are also familiar with one or more of the numerically more important languages of Sierra Leone, and those unfamiliar with either English or Krio during the 19th century probably identified themselves with one of these in Freetown (just 38 individuals gave Sherbro as their first language for

1) Dalby (1962), p. 65.

the 1848 Freetown Census, although the majority probably lived outside the city in their traditional Peninsula communities).

IV.9.0.2 It appears from early sources that the Bullom have had a long acquaintance with some form of English; this situation ⁽¹⁾ is paralleled by that in the Gulf of Guinea (III.3.0.0), where the local population was (and is) able to speak to the Creoles and Europeans often quite fluently in their own language, whether pidginized or metropolitan, with little indigenous-language interference.

IV.9.1.0 Only one item of apparent Bullom origin has been located in Krio:

bimbí

Plant sp., chrysobalanus ellipticus.

Cf. Bul bembe-le, "chrysobalanus ellipticus"
(Dalziel).

1) The New Haven Religious Intelligencer for 1819-21 contains PE texts from a Bullom chief.

V.O.O.O ARABIC

Arabic-derived items in Krio are probably the result of reinforcement from forms of the same Arabic-derived items in various other West African languages. For this reason, it is not possible to attribute the bulk of the items discussed in this chapter to their intermediate source language, but rather to treat such items as forming a general West African interlingual Islamic vocabulary.

V.O.O.1 By 1000 A.D. Islam had already begun to make inroads into the western Sudan and had reached parts of Upper Guinea. Several influential settlements (e.g. Kano) had substantial Muslim minorities by the 14th century. In less cosmopolitan communities, there appears to have been in the earliest stages minimal variance between the newly-acquired Islam and the traditional animistic cults, although the differences were sufficient to create some difficulties where converted community leaders were involved (1).

1) See Fage (1969), pp. 147-150.

V.0.0.2 Toward the end of the 18th, and during much of the 19th century, a move to reform Islam and to purge it of much of its indigenous influences began to spread throughout West Africa. During the same period, Islam was being conveyed to the coast by adjacent tribes.

V.0.0.3 While the Manding, Susu and Fula were well-established adherents of the faith by the time of the Freetown settlement, Islam was far less deep-rooted among most of the incoming Liberated African groups, especially those from the Lower Guinea coastal areas who formed the majority of the Recaptive population. The Yoruba societies such as Ode (see III.1.4.1) appear to have been almost totally free of Islamic influence, a fact which may account for its adaptation of Christian-derived ritual in its Creole form.

V.0.1.0 Arabic is the most important member of the widespread Hamito-Semitic (or Afro-Asiatic) language family, being spoken by nearly one hundred million people as a first language over an area extending from Mauritania to Saudi Arabia.

V.0.1.1 Spoken Arabic exists in a number of widely differing dialects, but the classical form of the language (CA) is understood by educated speakers everywhere, and serves as the liturgical tongue of 300,000,000 Muslims throughout the world ⁽¹⁾. It is with the written Classical Arabic of the Koran rather than with that of native speakers that West Africans have been in contact, and from which all lexical items have been adopted.

V.0.1.2 Sierra Leoneans of Lebanese and Syrian ancestry speak non-Classical dialects within their community, but there appears to be no awareness on the part of other Sierra Leoneans that a connection exists between the two. Syrian and Lebanese Sierra Leoneans are disparagingly called lak-amtráš in Krio, in imitation of the sound of their language. On the other hand, the Arabic script is considered sacred by many Muslim Sierra Leoneans, who reportedly have been known to treasure not only legitimate scriptures, but re-

1) From G. Fraenkel, Languages of the World, Boston (1967), pp. 38-40.

ceipts, etc. of probable Lebanese or Syrian origin.

V.0.2.0 Classical Arabic includes several phonemes foreign not only to Krio but to most West African languages, thus such sounds as CA pharyngalized /t̤/, /d̤/, /s̤/, /z̤/, /h/ and /ʔ/, or velar /x/, and /q/ ⁽¹⁾, were lost where they occurred in items containing them before entering Krio. This loss may well have occurred as a result of the readers' acquaintance with Arabic only in written form — cf. the pronunciation of Church Latin in various European countries — and the resulting approximation of CA phonology to that of the readers' first languages ⁽²⁾.

V.0.3.0 Since most phonological modifications have occurred before Arabic-derived items entered Krio, specifically Krio

1) Ladefoged (1964) lists /x/ and /q/ as occurring in Wolof, etc.

2) A recording of a Muslim call to prayer made in Sierra Leone was played (by the writer) to a Pakistani Muslim who was literate in Classical Arabic; much of the recording proved to be unintelligible.

modifications to the original CA forms have not been located.

V.0.3.1 Consonantal modification

Without exception, pharyngeal /t̤/, /d̤/, /s̤/, /z̤/ and /h/ are deparyngealized, the latter becoming lost entirely in Krio (cf. fítrí, masíbo). The CA hamza /ʔ/, i.e. the glottal stop, is lost (cf. baníyádama, maléka); the uvular stop /q/ becomes /k/ in languages not admitting that phoneme (cf. fəɾəkú — but Wolof fəɾəq/fəɾəχ). In a small number of items final nasals have been lost (cf. abádá, džínáy, tšakrá).

V.0.3.2 Vocalic modification

The most frequently-occurring modification of the CA forms is the acquisition of a final vowel (paragoge); cf. áke, alákí, fəɾəkú, walíyu. Modification of the original CA vowels differs from language to language, and may give some indication of which language was the intermediate source of the Krio form. Cf. CA furuuq, Mka furuku, Mnk fereku, Kr fəɾəkú, CA waliyy, Ful wolyu, Kr walíyu.

V.O.4.0 Arabic vocabulary in Krio

Items connected with Islam constitute the largest body of lexical adoptions into Krio from Arabic. A parallel may be drawn between these and the Yoruba-derived Hunting Society items, in that both have a large core of vocabulary connected specifically with the religion of society, plus a smaller number which have developed secular interpretations. Thus CA ɟamaaɟa, "crowd" has as its primary, though restricted meaning in Krio "a crowd, usually of Muslims outside a mosque". Non-Muslim Creoles may sometimes employ the item in its original sense to mean any crowd, and the adjectival džamádžamá, "crowded", from the Krio nominal džamá, has been coined ⁽¹⁾. Similarly, CA kaafir, yielding Krio kafrí or kafirí, means "unbeliever in God, heathen", but may be heard occasionally from Christian Creoles to mean

1) Muslim Creole informants maintain that this is a misuse of the word.

"pagan" generally, although Christians themselves are strictly considered to be such by Muslims. Items retaining a primary Islamic meaning as well as a secondary extended meaning in a non-Islamic context, are listed below with the latter interpretation indicated separately (e.g. džamá). It is likely that several of the items listed in categories other than Islamic are in fact due to an Islamic (especially Koranic) source; thus items connected with human behaviour for example may prove to derive from the relevant sections in the Koran illustrating this. The few plant-names appear to reflect items originally introduced further east by Arabic-speaking traders.

V.O.4.1 Islamic vocabulary

adžá

Title given to a Muslim woman who
has made a holy pilgrimage to Mecca.

Cf. CA الحجة [ʔal-haaĵja],

"ditto".

aládži

Title given to a Muslim male who
has made a holy pilgrimage to Mecca.

Cf. CA الحاج [ʔal-ħaajj], "ditto".

Also Te u-láyi, Mnk alhádži.

alfá

Muslim teacher or priest.

Cf. CA فقيه [ʔal-faʔiih], "teacher, usually religious". Also SY al-ufáa, Ful alfa, Mnk alfá(-ká), Te u-lefá, "Muslim cleric".

adúra

Prayers.

Cf. CA الصلاة [ʔad-duʔaaʔ], "a prayer". Also SY adúra, Hau addúʔa.

alikálí
adikálí
adikádi }

Society of youths; no specific Muslim connotation (see III.1.4.2).

Cf. CA القاضي [ʔal-qaadi], "a judge". Also Mnk-Su alkálí, Te di-kálí, "title used by Temne chief at Port Loko", Ful alkaali, "judge" and adilaaku, "justice".

alimámi

Muslim minister.

Cf. CA الامام [ʔal-ʔimaam], "a priest". Also Te α-ləmámi, "sub-chief, imam", Mnk alimámi, "leader".

dúnya

The world, earthly plane (as opposed to Heaven or Hell).

Cf. CA دنيا [dunyaa], "world".

Also Mnk dunya, Hau dúúníiya,

Wol aduna, Men dúnyá, Te α-dúníyá, "this world; mankind, crowd".

duwá ó!

Said to priest at end of service, in the expression alfá duwá ó!, "alfá be blessed".

Cf. CA دا [daʔa], "be blessed".

džalaba

Cowl or cloak worn by Muslims.

Cf. CA جلابية [jallabiiya], "a Muslim gown".

džánama }
džayánama }

Hell.

Cf. CA جهنم [jahannam], "Hell".

Also Hau džaahannamaa, "first of
the seven Hells of Islam", Ful
džahannama, Mnk džahanaba, Men
džáhánama.

džínay

Djinn, genii.

Cf. CA جن [jinnun], "genii".

Also Mnk džinna, Men-Vai džína.

fítrí

fítírí

Evening prayers.

Cf. CA فطر [fiṭr], "fast-break-

ing". Also Men fítíli, "evening",

Te a-fithíri.

ibilíš

A malevolent spirit.

Cf. CA ابليس [ibliis], "evil spi-

rit". Also Hau iiblis, iiblíši.

kásáṅké

Shroud.

Cf. CA كفن [kafan], "cloth for

wrapping the dead". Also Mnk ká-

sáṅké, Te k-ásáṅké, "shroud".

lasmámi-watá

Water which has been used to wash sacred Koranic writings, and which as a result has protective magical properties.

Cf. CA لا سماء [la-simaam], "there is no poison", or لا اسم [ʔal-ʕism], "the name", اسماء [ʔas-maaʔ], "the names". Also Kisekise Susu lasmámi, "greegree" (Koelle, 1854), Men lasimoí, "Muslim amulet" and Liberian English lasmo, "protection against harm" (D'Azevedo, 1970).

máka

Mecca.

Cf. CA مكة [makka], "Mecca".

malám

A pious Muslim.

?Cf. CA معلم [muʕallim], "teacher".

maléka

In the expression fut maléka, "to run with great speed" only.

Cf. CA ملائكة [malaaʔika], "an angel". Also Mnk maleke, Hau maliki, "the angel in charge of Hell-fire", Te u-maléka, "angel".

marabú

A Muslim.

Cf. CA عربي [ʕarabi], "Arabic". Also Mnk alábu, Su marabú, "Arabic script", Te marabú.

máslásí

Mosque.

Cf. CA مصلي [muṣalla], "a place of prayer", via Hau má-sálátší (-tší, "nominal agentive suffix") and SY másálásí. Local languages have forms derived from CA مسجد [masjid], "mosque", cf. Mnk-Su misídi, Te a-misíri, Men misií.

nására

A Christian; a pagan.

Cf. CA نصارا [našaara],

"Christians". Cognate with

Eng Nazarene. The Malays

call the Portuguese Creoles

of Malacca Sērani because of

their Catholic faith.

mōremán }
mōrimán }

A Muslim diviner.

Cf. CA مرید [murid], "pupil

of the Koran, Muslim novice",

+ man (<Eng). Also Eng moor,

Ptg mouro, Puerto Rico Spanish

more, "Muslim", etc.

sáli

Muslim devotions, practiced five
times a day.

Cf. CA صلاة [salle], "prayer".

Also Mnk sali, "solennité,

prière".

sára
saráká
sádáká }

Alms, charity.

Cf. CA صدقة [ṣadaqa], "alms, kindness, helping-out". Also Mnk sáda, sádáka, Te sátheka, Ful sadaka, Hau sadakaa, SY saráa.

setán(i)
šetán(i) }

Satan, the Devil.

Cf. CA الشيطان [šaiṭaan], "the Devil, Satan". Also Mnk-Su setáni, Te sethâni, Hau šai-tsaani. Convergence from Eng is probable in the Krio form.

tasabíya
tšesbí }

Muslim prayer-beads or rosary. Also, by extension on analogy of shape, jequirity (liquorice plant, abrus precatorius) seeds, mixed with palm

oil and administered against convulsions (also called krab-yay). There is some evidence of the rosary itself being used to heal (1).

Cf. CA تسبیح [tasbiih],
"prayer-beads". Also Mnk tasabía, Ful tasba, Men sasablâ, Te t-asəbíya,
Hau tšaazbí (whence alternate Krio form).

walá

Muslim student's writing-slate.

Cf. CA اللوح [ʔal-lauh],
"black tablet for writing".
Also Mnk-Men walá, Hau alló,
SY waláa, Te a-wálka, Ful

1) See N. Perron (tr.), El-Tounsy, Voyage au Ouaday (1851), pp. 356-7. I am grateful to Dr H. Fisher for this reference.

alluha.

waláka

Money.

Cf. Temne form of walá, above,
viz. a-wálka (or a-wáleka), an
extended meaning of which is
"money paid to the teacher for
Arabic lessons". The term has
no religious connotation in
Krio.

walíyu

"Saint", holy or learned man.

Cf. CA ولي [waliyy], "saint,
sage". Also Mnk walíyu, Ful
wólyu.

yamasúra

In the expression go yamasúra, to go
around the town at certain festivals,
singing and rejoicing.

Cf. CA يوم السورة [yaum us-suura],
"celebrate suura (a Koranic chap-
ter)".

wakíli

1) Prophet.

2) Hard times, in the expression de pan w~, because one can just prophesy that things will improve.

Cf. CA وکیل [wakiil], "prophet".

V.0.4.2 People

With the exception of the first item, alákí, each of the following clearly has a Koranic origin, but unlike names of persons listed above (V.0.4.1) is current in non-Islamic Krio vocabulary as well.

alákí

A vagrant, tramp; having these qualities.

Cf. CA حرق [haraq], "degenerate". Also Mnk hálaki, "down and out". SY has ālákōrí, "a good for nothing person".

baníyádama

Mankind; a large mass of people.

Cf. CA بنى آدم [bani-ʔaadam], "sons of Adam, tribe of Adam",

Also Mnk bani-adam, Hau baaní-adaam.

džamá

- 1) Crowd of Muslims congregated outside a mosque;
- 2) Any crowd. This item has also produced Krio džamádžamá, "crowded".

Cf. CA اجما [jamaaʃa], "crowd".

Also Mnk džama, "foule", Hau džamaaʔa, "crowd", SY džamá, "congregation".

kafrí }
kafirí }

- 1) Non-believer in God.
- 2) Animist, pagan, atheist.

Cf. CA كافر [kaafir], "unbeliever in Allah". Also Hau káá-firíí, SY káfīrī, Men kafí, karfí, Eng kaffir.

maláta

Mulatto'.

Cf. CA مولود [muwallad], "for-

eigner, born". See VI.3.0.0.

V.0.4.3 Anatomical

Only one Arabic-derived anatomical term has been located in Krio, viz. džakará or džakaló, "penis". The same item is often the only anatomical term adopted from other African languages, cf. Vai, Fula, Limba. While sexual terminology is often African-language-derived in Krio, and usually belongs to euphemistic male vocabulary, the present item probably owes its existence in Krio rather to the Islamic rite of circumcision (cf. Malay zakar supporting this). Variants of this item are widespread in West Africa, the Krio forms reflecting two different intermediate sources (cf. also tasabíya/tšesbí, V.0.4.1, above).

<u>džakará</u>	}	Penis.
<u>džakaló</u>		

Cf. CA زكر [žakar], "penis, male". Also Mnk džakarɔ, džakalo, Ful džakari, Hau azakarí.

V.0.4.4 Human characteristics and behaviour

Several of the following items reflect a typically

Muslim outlook on life (áke, arám), and may be traceable to the Muslim code of behaviour as set forth in the Koran. Other items included here, such as the ejaculations láyílá! or arámduriláy are of ultimate Muslim origin, but have lost this specific connotation in much the same way as English "good-bye" (< "God be with you") or "bless you" (when someone sneezes) have.

áke

Nemesis, just desserts.

Cf. CA حق [haqq], "rightness".

Also Men háke, "sin, grave wrong", Ful hakka, "get the better of an adversary".

ála

To shout.

See VI.3.0.0.

arám }
arámu }

To have a personal cross to bear; bribery, cheating; private taboo.

Cf. CA حرام [haraam], "forbidden" (in orthodox Islam this is the opposite concept

of halal, i.e. ritually clean or acceptable). Also Mnk aramo, "thing not lawfully gained", Men halámu, "items obtained by fraud", SY harámu, "swindler".

arámduriláy }
arámdudiláy }

Sometimes said by a person to himself after he sneezes (someone else will say kpelé ó [< Yoruba]).

Cf. CA الحمد لله [ḥamdu lil-laah], "Allah be praised". Also Hau aal-hamduu-liiláhi, Te alámdudiláy.

físíwálí

Ingratitude.

Cf. CA الفتن [fitna], "civil strife, anti-social behaviour, misbehaviour". Also Mnk fitirĩ, "anti-social behaviour", hence the forms fisirĩwale, fitirĩwale,

fitiringale, "ingrat", possibly derived from fitiriyale (< fit-irí + -ya- [verbal suffix] + -le or -lē [completive suffix]).

Also Mka fisiríwaleya, "ingratitude", Su fisirwali, Te físréwólí.

láyilá

Exclamation of wonder or surprise.

Cf. CA لا اله الا الله [laa ʔil-aaha ʔilla allaah], "there is no God but Allah". Also Mka-Mnk layilá, Te láyilá, and the overcorrected form ládžilá.

manafikí

Deceitful, not trustworthy.

Cf. CA منافق [munaa-faqa], "hypocrisy". Also SY manâfikí, Hau múnáfuki, "hypocrisy".

šawt

To sing gospel songs fervently; not "to shout", which is ála (q.v. above).

See VI.3.0.0.

tawakáltu }
tawikáltu }

To be steeled or resigned against
 an event; prepared for the worst.

Cf. CA توكت [tawakkaltu],

"I leave myself in Allah's

hands". Also Ful tawakala, Hau

taawakkaali. This item also oc-

curs in Malay (tawakal, "trust

in God; surrender"), suggesting

a Koranic source.

tšak

Intoxicated.

Cf. CA سكران [sakraan], "in-

toxicated". Also Ful tšikrá,

"ditto" (but see VI.3.0.0).

tšakrá

Berserk, wildly excited.

See above entry, and III.4.5.3,

VI.3.0.0.

wáya

Incur, be affected by, as in gapé

de wáya, "I am hungry" (? "hunger

is communicating"), otútú de wáya,

"I am cold" (? "coldness is communicating"). The connection with Eng wire, "(to send a) telegram" is obvious, but there remains the possibility of influence from the CA form, even as an example of conscious humour. Fula (below) has two distinct forms.

Cf. CA وحى [wahiyu], "divine revelation from God". Also Hau wááyá, "inform", and Ful waaya, "inform", waya, "telegraph".

V.0.4.5 Plants

The following plant-names are unlikely to be of Koranic origin, and probably owe their presence in Krio and other West African languages to the fact that they served as items of trade from more northerly (Arab) communities, or were introduced from North Africa. The widespread occurrence of these names in West Africa points to a non

local origin (1).

kuskús

Millet.

Cf. CA كسكس [kuskus], "millet". Also Bul kuskus.

manfaní }
anfaní }

Vine sp. used as a rope, and medicinally.

Cf. CA النافع [ʔan-naafiʔ], "the useful one", via Hau aamfáání, "usefulness", SY ãfaní, "utility; vine sp.".

tabáka }
báka }
tabá }

Tobacco.

See VI.3.0.0.

- 1) Cf. widespread forms of Carib-derived džigá (chigoe) in West Africa, and such items as chocolate, ananas, etc., in European languages, where no indigenous terms exist.

tamaró

Date palm, phoenix dactylifera.

Cf. CA تمره [tamara], "date palm". Also Mnk tamareo, Ful tamaro, Men tamálo.

tómbí }
tómbíla }

Tamarind, tamarindus indicus. The Kr form tómbí appears to be a re-adoption from Susu or Maninka, which may have derived the form from Krio tómbíla, a folk-etymologizing of an (unrecorded) earlier form closer to CA.

Cf. CA تمر هندي [tamr-hindii], "Indian date". Also Su-Mnk tombigi, Port Lokko Te a-thómbí, Koranko tembe. See also tamaró above.

yabás }
alibósa }
alubósa }

Shallot, onion.

Cf. CA بصله [bašla], "onion",

or بصل [baṣal], "onions".

Also Mnk džabá, Su yabá, Men

yabási, Te kə-yabá, plus Eng

plural -s. First recorded for

Krio by Clarke (1843), p. 54

as "yabah". Alternate Krio (Oku)

forms derived via Hau albasa

and SY alubósa.

V.0.4.6 Depreciative vocabulary

Items belonging to this category include words connected with the negative aspects of human experience, e.g. "danger", "trouble", "penniless", "unsuccessful", "woe", etc., and are largely of Koranic derivation. This is also consistent with the frequent use of non-English lexemes as euphemistic vocabulary in Krio (see III.1.4.14).

adžáyébul }
adžáyíban }

Gross, fantastic, exaggerated, esp.

to describe a falsehood: dat na adž-

áyébul lay!, "that was a gross lie!".

Cf. CA عجا [ʕajaban], "how wonderful!, remarkable". Also Hau adžábaŋ, "how wonderful", Ful adžabaŋ, "exclamation of awe", adžaaba, "torment".

alkú

Insolvent, penniless, broke.

?Cf. CA الكاية [ʔal-kinaaya], "term used to avoid using real name", الكني [ʔal-kunya], "a nickname". Also Hau aalkunyaa, "avoidance term".

forokú }
fereskú }

Spoiled, unsuccessful, e.g. of a social event.

Cf. CA فروق [furuuq], "ruined, smashed, broken". Also Wol forox, "sour", Mka furuku, "impatient, angry", Mnk feresku, "être le souffre-douleur de quelqu'un".

kasara

Wilful damage.

Cf. CA كسر [kaasara], "dam-
age, spite". Also Mnk kasara
"malheur, catastrophe, damna-
tion", Men kasála, "a severe
loss", Hau k'ásará.

masíbo

Danger.

Cf. CA مصيبة [muṣiiba], "dan-
ger". Also Men masúba, Lim
mašíbo, Te mə-síbo, Ful masibo,
Mnk masíbo.

waála

wahála (emphat.) }

Trouble, harrassment.

Cf. CA الله [wallah], "by God".
Also Hau waahalaa, SY wahála,
both meaning "trouble".

way!

Exclamation of shock.

?Cf. CA ويل [wail], "disaster,
woe" (frequently occurring in
Koran). Widespread.

V.O.4.7 Miscellaneous

ábádá

For ever; never (as in a nó go tok
to ram ábádá, "I'll never speak to
her again").

Cf. CA ابدأ [ʔabadan], "for
ever". Also Mnk-Mka abada,
Hau abadáá.

abadi-ábádá }
abadin-ábádán }

A comment upon the impermanence of
man; "who knows when?".

Cf. CA ابدأ ابدأ [ʔabada-l-
abadi], "(who knows) when;
whenever". Also Hau abadáá-
abaadi, Eng obladee-obladah.

akára

Bean-flour fritter. This item is
so widespread both in West Africa
and the New World, that its dis-
semination from Yoruba, the normal-
ly assumed source for this word,
seems unlikely.

Cf. CA طاكالا [ʔakala], "to eat, take food". Also Hau aakaaráá, SY akara, Sara akala, Sra akará, CP akála, akára, JC ákra, Igbo akara, Mnk akara, Brazilian Negro Ptg akara, Martinique Cr Fr akrá, "beignet", Trinidad akrá, "flour-and-saltfish fritter".

sampatá

Sandal.

Cf. CA صباط [subbaat], "shoe, slipper". See II.2.4.5 for discussion.

táblé
tábulé
támbulé }

Type of large drum.

Cf. CA طبل [ṭabla], "drum type". Also Mnk tábulé, Te a-thábulé. Romanes has tambúk (< Persian), and cf. other European forms such as Ptg tambor, Fr tambour, etc.

VI.0.0.0 OTHER ETYMOLOGIES

Because of the social conditions under which practically all modern creoles have developed, this type of language perhaps more than any other makes considerable use of its internal resources as a source of new lexemes.

VI.0.1.0 During the formative period of Krio, and especially during the years when it was being learned by Africans from other Africans rather than from Europeans, the English-derived lexical component was virtually a closed list, and yet of sufficient importance, and probably prestige, and sufficiently universal in the Atlantic situation — albeit in non-metropolitan forms for the most part — for it to be the preferred source for new items ⁽¹⁾.

-
- 1) The awareness of the important position of English as the source-language of Krio, and its prestige as such, is well-illustrated by the prevalence of non-English-derived items in the language which are popularly explained in terms of English origins (folk-etymology).

VI.0.1.1 Since totally new words were not readily available from English, English-derived items already existing in Krio underwent a variety of processes in order to augment the lexicon, supposedly whilst keeping it English-related. Part VI discusses these processes.

VI.0.2.0 Creolisms, or incoinings, correspond phonologically but not semantically in their extended sense, to one of the source languages, e.g. ban (< Eng "band" or "bind") the primary gloss for which is "to bind up", corresponding to the English equivalent "bind", and the secondary, or incoined meaning "constipated", without source-language parallel. Also belonging to this category, although not discussed here, are items not corresponding to a donor-language form either semantically or phonologically, of apparent a fortiori origin, e.g. flengbénsiś "smartly dressed".

VI.0.2.1 Compounds are also mainly creolisms, consisting of two or more primary elements in combination producing a new term for a further concept. These are of several types, and may be hybrids diachronically relatable to two or more different sources; as such they usually have no phonological

or semantic model in any one donor language; cf. masmás-šúga "granulated sugar" (< masmás "crushed" < Eng "mash" + šúga "sugar").

VI.0.2.2. Multiple etymologies are items traceable to more than one possible source; over half of these include English as one of them, suggesting convergence from that language.

VI.0.2.3 Calques, or iterative loan-translations, are significant since they are translated from African into English-derived morphemes, rather than remaining in their original forms. Examples are tréndža "guest" as well as "stranger", or mákit "wares, merchandise" as well as "market", both paralleled in Yoruba (alédžo, ódža) (1).

VI.0.2.4 Obsolete items are for the most part of African origin, and have been replaced by English-derived items in modern Krio.

1) Yoruba-derived alédžo and ódža also occur in Krio, the latter less current than the former item.

VI.0.2.5 The final chapter in Part VI considers items for which no satisfactory origin has yet been found.

VI.0.3.0 A further process of lexicon building (not discussed here, but see I.4.4.1) may probably be in the development of minimal pairs, i.e. tonally but not phonetically distinguished items, even within the English-derived lexicon, e.g. bróda~bráda "brother", bródá~bradá "term of address", fáda "father", fadá "priest" (1), kóntri "country", kontrí "country-dweller, indigenous Sierra Leonean", trímbul "to tremble", trimbúl "a flapping, shaking thing (e.g. baggy trousers)", etc.

1) This distinction in particular also occurs in Cameroons Pidgin, and in Guyana Creole (Bickerton, personal communication). Yoruba has adopted fadá "priest".

VI.1.0.0 INDIGENOUS COINAGES

Krio, like all creolized languages, is particularly rich in indigenous coinages ("incoinings"), this being one method of augmenting vocabulary during the process of lexical expansion from the earlier pidgin. The process has been even more extensive in creoles spoken in non-source-language environments, e.g. Sranan (English-derived) in a Dutch language environment, or Papia Kristang (Portuguese-derived) in an English language environment.

VI.1.0.1 While it is most unlikely that all, or even the majority, of the examples listed below were coined during the creolization of the pre-Krio pidgin, the technique of creating new items from existing lexemes applied at that time is still employed, in much the same way as slang is coined — although like slang not all such creations gain wide or lasting acceptance ⁽¹⁾.

-
- 1) While efforts have been made to distinguish between the two, the possibility exists that some apparent incoinings are calques from indigenous languages (VI.4.0.0).

VI.1.1.0 Indigenous coinages occur in all semantic areas of vocabulary, and predictably in those most closely affecting daily life. In this respect the categories parallel those evident from indigenous languages. Not shared by the latter however is the category of terms connected with technology, which if not taken directly from English (e.g. telivíšon, vákom, "television, vacuum") are coined from existing vocabulary, and may provide in addition the indigenous languages with their technical vocabulary (e.g. Te a-motoróla, "steamroller", Men makléti, "vaccination").

VI.1.1.1 People and personality

aŋkó

Colleague, accomplice.

Cf. Eng and co[mpany], & Co.

aysávis

Fawning, currying favour.

Cf. Eng high service.

džakas-ós

A glutton for hard work.

Cf. Eng jackass horse.

mán-kyan-tél

A dark horse; a mystery.

Cf. Eng man can't tell.

trí-mínit

A very short-tempered person.

Cf. Eng three minutes (and
then he loses his temper).

waywó

Casual, carefree.

Cf. Eng why wo[rry].

A series of indigenous coinages employing an enclitic suffix -na may also be listed; this appears originally to have been either a regular syntactic use of prepositional na ("to, at, in, etc."), with subsequent abbreviation, e.g. groná, "urchin", from gro na trit, "grows in the street", or perhaps influence from Manding languages, in which the postpositional na has a similar function, e.g. Mnk buŋ na, "dans la case", cf. tritná (trit, "street", + na), "street girl, urchin". This appears to have established the pattern for similar coinages in which -na takes on an agentive force: wansayná (< Eng one + side, + na), "thing better left aside for the present", drayná (< Kr dray, "skinny" [< Eng dry] + na), "a thin person". Other items in the same series include abóna, "waif", from a [?] + bón, "born" + na, "in" + blay, "basket" (also adopted

into Mende abónabla, "footpad"), and kratšná, "a soccer shot which barely scrapes past the goal-post", from kratš, "scratch", + na, "at the", + golpós, "goal post". Morphological devices of this kind are rare in creole languages.

V.1.1.2 Anatomical, etc.

bolyáy

Protruding or bulging eyes.

Cf. Eng ball eyes.

bridin-mák

Abdominal creases resulting from childbirth.

Cf. Eng breeding marks.

faya-bómp

Blisters, made deliberately (usually on the forearms) by boys as a sort of endurance game, with glowing splints.

Cf. Eng fire bump.

govna-gét

Gap in the teeth.

Cf. Eng governor's gate (in Freetown).

swit-pís

Diabetes.

Cf. Eng sweet piss.

VI.1.1.3 Bodily actions

bak-swím

The backstroke, in swimming.

Cf. Eng back swim.

tay-watá

1) to tread water;

2) to float on the back.

Cf. Eng tie water.

tšer-kóv

To go for a stroll.

Cf. Eng tear curve.

VI.1.1.4 Clothing and adornment

kisitšóda

A style of braiding the hair.

Cf. Eng kiss each other. Many

names of hair-styles are sim-

ilarly inventive: sevinóp, owo-

sévin, boyspát, etc.

mi-man-no-de-ton

mi-man-don-go-šip

Styles of tying headkerchiefs; i.e.

"my husband's out of town", "my

husband's gone to the ship".

wíkade-to-kám

Ordinary working clothes, on analogy of sónde-to-gó, "Sunday to go", i.e. "Sunday-go-to-meeting clothes".

Cf. Eng weekday to come.

VI.1.1.5 Food

boylóp

Of a batchelor, to prepare food for himself.

Cf. Eng boil up.

dotí-bóy

Pig's trotters.

Cf. Eng dirty boy.

potóp

Same as boylóp, q.v.

Cf. Eng pot up.

tšendžin-bóls

Kind of spherical candy which changes colour as it is sucked.

Also a changeable person.

Cf. Eng changing balls.

VI.1.1.6 Technology

flanšíp

Airplane.

Cf. Eng flying ship. This may
be a calque from, or have pro-
vided Te with, a-bíl-a-fâl,
"flying ship", i.e. "airplane".

flayn-bót

Seaplane.

Cf. Eng flying boat.

motó-róla

Leveller, steam-roller.

Cf. Eng motor roller.

presa-pín

Sewing-machine foot.

Cf. Eng presser pin.

wil-pán

Automobile hubcap.

Cf. Eng wheel pan.

VI.1.1.7 Apparent incoinings of Yoruba derivation have
also been noted (III.1.3.3), and include édžilá, "six-
pence", éfa, "threepence" and olúwa, "fufu".

VI.2.0.0 COMPOUNDS

The lexicon of Krio has been augmented considerably by combining existing morphemes in the language to create terms for new concepts. While increasing the total currency of source-language-derived items in Krio, the creation of compound forms also tends to diminish the incidence of semantic overlap common to both, since such compounds do not always correspond to the source-language equivalent (1). Those which do (2) need not, of course, be necessarily modelled upon source-language forms, although many such are. Some apparently indigenous compounds may ultimately prove to be calqued from some African language (cf. VI.1.0.1n.).

VI.2.1.0 Compounds, i.e. lexical items ultimately analysable into two or more separate morphemes, fall into two broad cat-

1) E.g. Kr tik-án "branch" < Kr tik "tree" (< Eng "stick")
+ Kr an "arm, hand" (< Eng "hand").

2) E.g. Kr matšis-bóks "matchbox".

egories: Simplex items in Krio of compound derivation in the donor language, and true compounds created within Krio. Each of these may be further subdivided.

VI.2.1.1 Simplex items of ultimate compound derivation in the source language are either diachronically analysable as a combination of a free plus a bound morpheme, or as a combination of free morphemes. These have been adopted into Krio as synchronically unanalysable units.

VI.2.1.2 Of the former category, the following items may be cited as examples:

ambógin

Troublesome. While ambóg "to tease, annoy", occurs independently in Krio, the participle suffix *-in does not.

Cf. Eng "humbugging".

dróma

Drummer; cf. Kr dróm "drum".

While several other nouns are of this pattern, e.g. bútša, tšítša etc., *-a does not occur as a regular agentive suffix.

Cf. Eng "drummer".

kósed

Accursed; cf. Kr kos "to abuse".

*-ed does not occur as a morpheme
in Krio.

Cf. Eng "accursed".

tiklís

To tickle; *tíkul does not occur
in Krio.

Cf. Eng "ticklish" with change
of form-class.

VI.2.1.3 Of the latter category, the following may be cited
as examples:

grap

To get up.

Cf. Eng "get up", probably via
dialectal [ge'rap].

komót

To leave, be from, go from.

Cf. Eng "come out". "Come" is
kam in Krio.

sidóm

To sit.

Cf. Eng "sit down".

trowé

To throw, spill, discard.

Cf. Eng "throw away".

VI.2.2.0 So-called 'true' compounds are those having no apparent model, and created within Krio. These may either comprise a combination of morphemes of which one is incapable of independent existence, or else of totally free morphemes. Since isolating-type languages such as Krio have little morphology, it is proposed that morphemes of the type described above, i.e. incapable of free existence, be called dependent rather than bound morphemes (although see VI.1.1.1).

VI.2.2.0 Examples of the former are not numerous:

awangót
hawangót }

Parsimonious.

Cf. SY háwó "mean" + Kr got
"guts", < Eng.

adžáyébul

Gross, fantastic.

Cf. CA عَجَبًا [fajaban] "how
wonderful" + Eng "-able". Kr
also has adžáyéban with the
same meaning, but not the
dependent morpheme *-ébul as
a suffix to form adjectives.

gbément

Theft.

Cf. Kr gbé "to steal" (< SY

gbé "to take" + Eng "-ment".

krubómbó

Loincloth.

Cf. Kr kru "Kroo" + Mende

bómbó "child's loincloth".

lé-ládž

To sprawl.

Cf. Kr le "to lie" + Eng

"large".

okeýádža

Storage-loft above outside kitchen.

Cf. SY oke "above" + Kr ádža

"storage-loft" (< SY adža

"ceiling").

oní-sáwé

Gourd vessel for containing herbal infusion used in ode ritual.

Cf. SY oní- "possessor of"

+ Kr sáwé "herbal infusion"

(< Me sáwéi, ditto).

VI.2.3.0 The greatest number of compounds belong to the last category — those compounded from morphemes which also occur independently in the language. In combination these usually undergo modification of stress-distribution (cf.

dī mán (!) káw` "the man's cow" ~ dī man-káw` "the bull",

and see I.4.4.0).

VI.2.3.1 Perhaps the majority of compounds of this type are those specifying variety or origin, of the "cooking-apple" or "sewing-machine" type in English. Examples are:

akara-bíntš

Beans for preparing bíntš-akara

(q.v. below).

Cf. Kr akára, ditto + Kr

bíntš "bean".

básta-pikin

Illegitimate child.

Cf. Kr básta, ditto + pikín

"child".

bíntš-akara

Fritter of ground blackeyed peas.

Cf. Kr bíntš "bean" + Kr

akára "bean-flour fritter".

matšis-bóks

Matchbox.

Cf. Kr mátšis "match" + Kr

bóks "box".

VI.2.3.2 A further group of compounds of this type are of the form PARTICULAR + GENERAL; the initial component in the source language has the same meaning as the compounded form in Krio, the second component being the generic term:

akpání-yáms

Yam sp., dioscorea cayenensis.

Cf. SY ākpání, ditto, + Kr

yams "yam".

atare-pépe

Alligator pepper.

Cf. SY ātāārē, ditto, + Kr

pépe "pepper".

šukú-bláy

Type of circular, lidded basket made of raffia.

Cf. SY šukú, ditto, + Kr blay

"basket".

VI.2.3.3 Some reflect geographical or ethnic origin, and probably indicate by whom such items were introduced, or from where they were obtained:

awusá-banána

Sp. of red banana.

Cf. Kr awusá "Hausa" + banána
"banana".

bámbará-néf

Type of double-edged knife.

Cf. Kr bámbará "subdivision of
the Manding people" + néf
"knife".

gyambé-ós

Horse sp.

Cf. Kr gyambé "The Gambia" +
os "horse".

kalabá-bíntš

Blackeyed peas.

Cf. Kr kalabá "Calabar" +
bíntš "bean".

okú-bláy

Basket type.

Cf. Kr okú "Yoruba" + blay
"basket".

wotló-bíntš

Cow peas, vigna.

Cf. Kr wotló "Waterloo Village"

+ bíntš "bean".

VI.2.3.4 A small number of compounds appear to contain a redundant element, in that both components have the same meaning (unlike those in VI.2.3.3 above). This may be the result of conscious avoidance of homophones, the redundant element specifically identifying the homophonous primary element in a way similar to classifiers in Chinese:

babú-wotó

Baboon sp., also epithet for an ugly person.

Cf. Kr babú "baboon" + Te kə-wothó, ditto, and Kr wotó "diaper".

mata-odó

Mortar for pounding.

Cf. Kr máta "mortar" + SY ōdó, ditto, and Kr máta "mat".

VI.3.0.0 MULTIPLE ETYMOLOGIES

The fact that comparatively few African languages have contributed to the Krio lexicon, although some ten times the number were spoken in Freetown during the 19th century, is due to the limited currency of most of them, and the emergence of a very few major ones as *lingue franche* before nearly all became extinct and were supplanted by Krio (see III.0.2.1).

VI.3.0.1 In Krio, there are a number of items which apparently derive from more than one donor language; this phenomenon is a reversal of the one described above — look-alikes in two or more languages would more readily have tended to survive instead of become lost.

VI.3.0.2 Cognates in Portuguese and English, e.g. *bar/barra*, *copper/cobre*, *pot/pote*, *potato/batata*, etc., may provide examples of some of the earliest convergent forms, which would have been assimilated into the local creole; a community knowing the earlier-acquired Portuguese term cobre would easily have made the transition to English "copper" if this were the only form they were henceforth to hear. Such a transition would have been easier than total relexification, e.g. substituting "child" for

pikín.

VI.3.0.3 A small number of look-alikes shared by Portuguese and English differ in meaning as well as phonology, resulting in semantic (and phonological) shift. In each case the items belong to the same semantic area of vocabulary; an example of this category is gánga "a dress, usually that of a small girl". Scots and Yorkshire dialects have gangery (ganger+y) "finery, tawdry apparel, fine clothes" (EDD), while Portuguese has ganga "nankeen, a kind of yellow cotton cloth".

VI.3.1.0 English visitors to the Guinea Coast would have found several items in the languages they encountered coincidentally similar to words in their own language, and these were very probably retained as part of the basic vocabulary of the developing creole. However, it seems more probable that the majority of the items listed below converged with, or reinforced the currency of, Africanisms during the later multilingual situation of the 1800's, since the profusion of lexical items from all the languages spoken in Freetown during that period meant that the chances of African/English-derived Krio look-alikes occurring was greater. In addition, one would expect to find that the

majority of such items reflected one main language such as Manding if they had been established in the formative period, since the first contacts were with settled coastal communities representing homogeneous language groups. Extensive multilingualism, and consequent creole diffusion, occurred in later years when Africans from different parts of the interior were brought to trading centres on the coast.

VI.3.1.1 Grammatical items

The most important, although not the most extensive group of English/African convergent forms are grammatical, and are widespread amongst the Atlantic creoles. Several reflect south-western British dialect forms, and as such may well have formed part of the sailors' shipboard dialect:

de }
di }

Progressive action aspect marker,

as in a de wáka, "I am walking".

See II.1.6.3a.

Cf. Wolof di, a present habitual action marker: gam "to believe", di gam "to be believing". Also Akan re, Ewe

de, with similar aspectual functions.

dón

Completive aspect marker. "Done" occurs in the non-creolized English of Tristan da Cunha, and in Madras Butler English (see Hancock [1969], p. 34, n. 70) with the same function.

Cf. Wol do:n "past habitual action marker".

énti

Indeed, really, is that so. Cornish dialect has énti "indeed" (EDD), < ain't it.

Cf. Twi énti, "hence, on that account". Also Gullah énti with Krio meaning.

fo

Preverbal "to", prepositional "for", etc. Cf. Cheshire, Somerset and Devonshire for, "used before an infinitive, without the governing preposition, generally to express pur-

pose: bin yǒ ready for go?; I bain't
gwain vor let you hab-m. More com-
 monly for to in the dialects (see
 Hancock [1969], p. 72, n. 553).

Cf. SY fī fú "give" (lit. "take
 give"), calqued in Sranan as gi
 "for", "give" and Antilles Fr
 Cr; also JC fi, Gullah fə, Guy-
 ana fu.

na

Locative preposition: gó na di ós,
 "go to the house", kómót na di ós,
 "come out of the house", i de na os,
 "he's in the house", etc. Cf. Eng
in with acquired final vowel as in
 JC iina, Sra ini, and subsequent loss
 of initial vowel.

Cf. Mdg na, a locative postpo-
 sition,

na í

Thereupon. Cf. na (VI.3.2.1) below
 + Eng him.

Cf. Mende náhîŋ "so that, con-

sequently", not considered to
be adopted from Krio (Innes).

se

Postverbal conjunction: that, namely,
as in tél am sé a dé yá, "tell him
I'm here". Cf. Eng say, especially
frequent Biblical use of "saying" as
an introduction to reported speech.

Cf. Twi se, ditto. Also Gullah
se, sɛ, JC se. Widespread in
West African languages, e.g. SY
kpe with both meanings, calqued
in Sranan as táci.

sósó

Only, just, nothing but. Cf. Eng
"soso", i.e. "mediocre", Ptg só,
"only". JC súoso, Sra soso, etc.

Cf. SY šōšō "only" (see II.2.4.8).

VI.3.1.2 Human action and behaviour

ála

To shout. Cf. Eng "holler".

Cf. Ful haala "commotion, talk,
palaver" < CA الله [hala] "to
shout out". See šawt below.

bobáw

Carefree. Nottinghamshire dialect has bobaw (pr?), "an exclamation to children" (EDD).

Cf. Twi kyīm ā-bóbáw "one trying to get ahead of another in order to see s.t."

damú

Dumbfounded, be rendered speechless. Scots dialects have dammer, "astonish, confound, confuse" (EDD).

Cf. SY daamú "worry", Mdg damú, daamú "be excited".

daš

To tip; a gratuity. Scots has dash, "make a show or display", also general dash of rum, etc., as a reward; JC daš is "fling down", possibly coins, as a gratuity.

Cf. Gã dasé, "thank you". See III.4.4.8.

džadžá

To nag, cf. to "jaw", i.e. "talk

a lot". Also general colloquial
jaja "scold, vituperate, abuse" (EDD).
Krio also has dža "jaws; to snap at
s.o.". Gullah has jája, "nag".

Cf. SY dža "to wrangle, fight",

Mende džodžô "have a misunder-
standing, mild dispute".

ko

To quell, quieten down, calm. Gen.
north and midland dialects have coo,
cowe "subdue, intimidate, quell",
Scots has cower, coor, cooer "remain
quiet, keep still".

Cf. Limba ko "to stop, pause".

magomágo

Nervous, anxious, jittery. The forms
maggative, maggativous, maggoting oc-
cur in Scots with the meanings "full
of whims or fancies...capricious,
crochety", and in Wiltshire meaning
"meddlesome".

Cf. Mdg magó "urge, need".

masáka

To fight, massacre, raze, demolish.

Cf. CA *مَسَاكَا* [masaka], "to hold, seize".

móna

To bore, make fed up. Scots, Lakeland and Yorks. dialects have mauner or maunder "confused, aimless, helpless, imbecilic". Creole forms such as Trinidad mo dan, Guyana mor dan, Sra moro, with the same verbal meaning, suggest an unrecorded English *more than.

Cf. Mdg móné "trouble", SY

monamona "trouble, worry".

negenége

Sensitive, peevish, irritable. Scots and Northumberland dialects have neg, Yks. neggie "cross, irritable, snappish" (EDD).

Cf. Mdg negé "desire, craving".

neké

To cadge, esp. food or cigarettes.

Northumb. dialect has neck "to catch [i.e. cadge], steal".

Cf. Te neké "cadge" Mdg negé
 "desire". Also Me nehé, ditto.

sas }
sasí }

Assertive in various ways, e.g. pungent (of pepper), rough (of sea), outspoken (of persons), etc. English records sauce-box "an impudent person" from the 16th century, but sauce to mean "impertinence" only from 1835. The latter term may have been introduced from West Africa and be genetically unrelated to the former. U.S. dialects and Gullah have sassy, also occurring in Hawaiian Creole (1).

Cf. Me sasí "impudence", Grebo

- 1) Lentzner (1892), p. 102, has "Sass (African coast). When a chief or other person becomes too bold, or powerful, or wicked, he is said in English Negro slang to "get too much sass". The remedy for this is to make him drink "sass water". According to news from the west coast of Africa, there have been some human sacrifices in conse-

sésé "be impudent".

šawt

To sing gospel songs with fervour.

Not "shout", which is ála in Krio.

Cf. CA صوت [sawt] "voice, vote"

Also Ful sautu, Hau sautii,

"voice, noise". Gullah has

šawt with Krio meaning.

te

To stay, remain. Probably Eng

stay with simplification of init-

ial cluster.

Cf. Vai te "remain".

tété

Dice. Cf. Eng tats "dice" (STY).

Cf. SY tété "a gambling game".

quence of the death of the son of the king of Grand Jack.

Selected victims were obliged to drink "sass water", a poisonous liquor, and were then pitched into the surf on the seashore" (quoting from the St. James Gazette).

Grade (1892) p. 393 gives an example of the use of Kru English "sash" in the sentence "we no fit for go for sea, them surf be sash (very bad) too much".

tété

To walk falteringly, as of a tiny child. General British and U.S. dialects have titter, teeter "to totter, walk with a weak, faltering step".

Cf. Mdg teté "apprendre à un enfant à marcher en le tenant", SY teeté, ditto.

tot

To carry. Early English had tot-ian "to lift, elevate", with later citations in literature. U.S. forms such as tote-sled may derive from Fr tauter "to ease the moving of s.t. by placing rollers beneath it".

Cf. Kikongo tota "pick up".

tšak

Intoxicated. Yorks. has chark, "to drink to intoxication", chack "a slight refreshment". Scots,

Ire. and Northumberland "thirsty,
dry in throat" and Devon-Cornwall
chirk "to put in good spirits, be-
come lively, cheerful".

Cf. Ful tšikrá "intoxicated"

CA سكران [sakraan], ditto. See
also tšakrá at III.4.5.3.

tšakrá

Become excited.

See last and III.4.5.3.

tú }
tún }

To keep (someone) in a place: dē tú
yú dé? "have they fastened you there?".
Probably also in the name of the game
tooning and coonting, remembered but
no longer played. Scots dialects have
['tu.nin] "a drubbing" and ['tou.ən]
"subdue by severe means". Yorks. has
tune "keep in order, beat, thrash",
and northern counties tew "to persua-
ade, urge [to stay?]".

Cf. Mdg tú, tó "to remain, allow,

let, leave". Twi has tɛw "to fix, set, plant" and tūā "to be stuck, fixed, fastened".

VI.3.1.3 Persons

ba }
bo }

A term of address between equals. Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex and Cumberland dialects have bor, bo' "a term of familiar address applied to either sex, and of all ages".

Cf. Mdg ba "term of familiar address", Vai bo, ditto.

búfa

See III.4.4.1.

tití

See IV.5.3.0.

VI.3.1.4 Household

bánda

See III.2.2.5.

betí

A fishflake, i.e. fish-drying frame or rack. Northants dialect has betty "a rack for draining" (EDD).

Cf. Me mbeté "rack for storing".

máta

Mortar, cf. JC maata, ditto.

Cf. Lim mathá "orifice, receptacle, pit, recess".

VI.3.1.5 Food

dombáy }
dumbáy }

A dish prepared from boiled and mashed yam or cassava. In Yorks., dumboy eating is a custom observed at the Gawthrop feast, dumboy being a kind of syrup-covered bread (EDD).

Cf. Me, Vai dómba, dómbei with

Krio meaning.

nyam

To eat (archaic); food. Scots has nyam "to chew" (EDD), although the root is extremely widespread both in Africa and elsewhere (e.g. Hakka nyam-nyám "to nibble", Dutch njam, ditto, etc.).

Cf. Wol nyam, Ful nyama "to eat".

VI.3.1.6 Miscellaneous

bête

Good, goodness, as in yu nó bête,
"you're incorrigible", bête nó dé,
"there's nothing good (an expres-
sion of resignation)". Probably
Eng "better".

Cf. Mdg bete "good".

bongrobí

A beetle sp., possibly influenced
from Eng "bumble bee", cf. Gullah
bámələbii for this item.

Cf. Mende gbóngbóní "wasp sp.".

kaší

Stubborn, obstinate; also wretched.
Eng dialects have cashie "not of
good quality" (EDD). Also in the
form nánkáší.

Cf. Te a-nánkási "wretched
person". See also kasí at
IV.3.4.1.

langalánga

Very long; a very tall person.
Eng "long" (cf. tránga < "strong").

Cf. Hau laangaalangaa "anything long and slender".

koní

The name of a folktale character, koní-rábit. Widespread is dialectal coney "rabbit", although convergence from cunny (i.e. "cunning" [EDD]) is likely. Gullah has kándi "rabbit". In Krio rábit refers to the duiker, as well as to the rodent.

Cf. Ki ṅkandi "rabbit".

los

Louse.

Cf. Ngala losisa "louse".

potopóto

Mud, muddy, glutinous, etc. Scots has potter "to trample in soft mud" (EDD). Widespread in the creoles.

Cf. SY, Twi, Me potopoto, Ki potopoto "mud".

sus

To kick, probably from primary meaning "shoes" (< Eng).

Cf. Ki suusa "footwork".

té(é...)

Ideophone of intensity: i de dže-
kpé té "she talks so much", a
véks té "I was so angry". Also
soté, teté. Possibly Eng "till",
cf. Caribbean forms so-tel, so-
til, or Ptg até "until".

Cf. Ki tééé "ideophone; un-
til, to an extent", with
same distribution and func-
tion as Krio té.

wása

Bad, worse (archaic, being re-
placed by wos). Yorks. dialect
has warser "worse" (EDD).

Cf. Hau wasa "find fault
with".

VI.3.2.0 A smaller group of non-cognate look-alikes are
found within the African-derived vocabulary of Krio. These
probably also gained currency during the 1800's. There is
a possibility that some such items may date from pre-Euro-
pean times and have been used in the (hypothetical) pan-

African trade language (see I.2.4.1), although there is no way of proving this conclusively. At least some of the look-alikes in Western Bantu languages are probably of Krio or Mende origin, and therefore true cognates, having been taken to the area in the late 19th century (see III.5.2.1). The largest group discussed below deals with plant nomenclature; this may be predicted since such commodities were usually items of trade. Other groups, paralleled in the discussions of most of the languages dealt with in this thesis, include anatomical terminology, action and behaviour, clothing, food and so on. These show no deviation from the normal pattern of adoption except that a list of grammatical items also occurs. It is unusual for such items not to be English-derived:

VI.3.2.1 Grammatical items

dé

The locating verb, to be (in a place): a dé na ós "I am in the house", i dé de "he is there".

Cf. Ngombe dí, día "to be",

Lolo, Kele le "to be", Guang

"god of palm nuts", Wol bangá
"small gourd", Mdg ban "palm
sp.", Kissi banyá "palm kernel
oil".

bará

Melon-gourd.

Cf. III.1.4.3.

džondžó

Generic name for mushrooms, toad-
stools, etc.

Cf. Me džonya "affect with
mildew", ?Wol "joundjeul", "er-
ythrina senegalensis", ?Ful
džóónde "stool". Also Antilles
Cr Fr džondžó, Puerto Rico Sp
yoñón, JC džóndžo, džúndžu.

See Cassidy (1961a).

gunk

Treestump (also tomp), now most
widely known as a simile for short-
ness.

Cf. Me ngúkpe, ditto, Te =wun-
kar "to cut down treestumps".

te, ditto. See also de above,
VI.3.1.1, as durative aspect
marker, with which this may be
cognate.

na

The equating verb, to be: na mí "it
is me", bréd na yít "bread is food".

Cf. Limba na "is, are, be" ,
Su na "être", Ki na "to be"
(Homburger [1949], p. 151).

See Hancock (1969), p. 68, n.

7 for discussion.

únu }
úna }
ína }

Second person plural pronoun.

Cf. Lim yína "you (pl. object)",
Te muno "you (sg. disjunctive)",
nu (object), Mbundu (y)enu, Ki
yeno, Igbo unu, ditto. Cf.
also Eng "you", Wolof you, ditto.

VI.3.2.2 Plants

bangá

Palm kernel.

Cf. Ki mbongo "seed" (> CP
mbangá "palm seed"), SY bangá

kāyá

Alligator pepper, aframomum meleguetum. Usually in combination as kāyá-pépe.

Cf. Tupi kyynha, quynha "pepper" (via Ptg, or Eng "kayan", "kian", later "Cayenne", assimilating to place-name).

Also Mdg kaní, kaníyá "alligator pepper", Kpelle kīan, Ful, Wol kani, ditto (< Mdg?), Me káníyá.

tába
tabáka
báka }

Tobacco.

Cf. Mende, Kissi tabá, Vai táwa, SY tába, etc., CA تبغ [tabaʕ], Moroccan Ar تبغ [ta-bah], ditto, possibly introduced from Europe (< Ptg tabaco < Amerindian). Also English dialect forms [tə'bæke], ['bæke], ['bækiy].

VI.3.2.3 Actions and behaviour

dabarú

Hypocritical.

Cf. Mdg dabarú, dabaró "underhanded dealing, trickery",
SY dābārú, darú "corrupt judgement, hypocrisy".

kekrebú }
kekerebú }

See III.4.4.2.

sám̐ba

Type of dance.

Cf. Te a-sám̐pa "dancer", Hau samba-lé "a dance of youths and maidens". Also Eng samba (< Ptg < Brazilian Black Ptg [< Te?, Hau?]).

sambá

To present a gift.

Cf. Mdg samá, sambá "gift, to present a gift", Ki, Mb, Tshiluba samba "to pay homage".

yek

To start, be startled.

Cf. Wo yeq, Efik yìk, ditto.

VI.3.2.4 Anatomical

bombó

Vulva.

Cf. Te a-bómbó, southern Bantu
-búmbu, -bhómbho, ditto. See
Hancock (1969) p. 71, n. 467
for discussion.

dulí

Buttocks.

Cf. Su dulí, ditto, Hau duli
"pudenda".

mumú

Mute.

Cf. Ewe, Twi mumú "deafness
and dumbness", Me múmú "a
mute", Mdg muumuné, ditto.
Also Ptg mumo "dumb".

VI.3.2.5 Clothing

bubá

Blouse worn over lappa.

Cf. Wol buba "garments", Mdg
bubá, bubó "blouse", SY bubá
"short, loose garment worn
by men and women".

katá

Head carrying-pad.

See III.4.4.7.

VI.3.2.6 Food

būyá

Lagniappe.

See IV.3.4.2.

gbalá

To add (any) mucilagenous ingredient, such as ókro, tolá, etc., to a stew.

Cf. Te a-gbalá "powdered seed added to make mucilagenous sauce (< a-gba "slimy sauce"), SY gbālá "to take okro" (< gba + ilá).

VI.3.2.7 Miscellaneous

džegé

Cowry shell.

See II.2.4.1 and III.1.4.1.

džombí

Ghost, spirit.

See III.5.2.2, and cf. Me

džombú "fabulous animal celebrated for its magical power".

džudžú

Magic.

Cf. III.2.2.6.

kpetkpét
kpetekpété }

Muddy, slimy.

Cf. Ki petepete "slimy", SY

kpetekpēte "mud".

šaká
šekšék
šekšék }

Gourd rattle.

Cf. SY šakáá, Hau tšakí, CA

šagšág, ditto. Also Eng

"shake", Fr secouer, Ptg

sacudir.

VI.4.0.0 CALQUES

Calquing, or loan-translation, was probably not widely employed as a method of augmenting the lexicon during the period of first-generation creolization on the Guinea coast (see I.2.4.6).

VI.4.1.0 Calques result from insufficient acquaintance with the original vocabulary; in the earliest situation native speakers of English were present to supply English vocabulary, while Africans supplied terms from their own languages for non-European concepts.

VI.4.1.1 Calquing therefore appears to have developed later, when in the multilingual situations of the slaving depôts African captives would have acquired Creole or English in pidginized form, but would not have remained long enough, or have had adequate social contact with Creole speakers, to have learnt Creole (or English) fully. On arrival in the New World, the situation made the continued use of Pidgin essential in each area, resulting in its subsequent creolization. In these circumstances children born into such an environment would have looked for linguistic guidance to

the adult slaves — who would have been experiencing the same difficulties — and the adults, being still more familiar with their African mother-tongues than with the Pidgin in most cases, would have drawn upon them in order to expand this Pidgin. This situation accounts for both the similarities and the differences amongst the English-derived Atlantic creoles.

VI.4.2.0 The most extensive calquing in Freetown Krio also took place during the period of maximum multilingualism, i.e. in the mid 19th century. Because of this, it is not generally possible to relate a calqued form in Krio to any one language, since the same interpretation of a concept often exists in many languages ⁽¹⁾; African language models

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- 1) Cf. V.O.O.O. An extreme example of this may be illustrated by the Krio name for mimosa pudica, the "sensitive plant", viz. sét yu mamí bombó, "close your mother's vulva". Cf. Temne yá mómpéné, "mother cover yourself", Mende kpété naná gbaha gbomei, "buttocks shut together", Yoruba kpātōmó, "close your thighs", Twi mumuaŋkã kata w'ani na w'osew reba, "shut your eyes, your mother-in-law is coming", Gã ošäyō-mba, "your mother-in-law is

listed below are not necessarily the immediate sources for the Krio calqued forms, but are given as illustration.

VI.4.3.0 Calques make use of existing morphemes from the acquired Pidgin, modelled on African forms. Practically all calques refer to non-basic concepts; while a pidgin would have terms for say "eye" or "child", a further term for "pupil of the eye" would have been unnecessary. A mother tongue ⁽¹⁾ however, as the means of expression for every experience its speakers may encounter, and not just for trade, will at some time need to distinguish between "eye" and "pu-

coming", Nzima atɔfɔle mũa loã, "bride close your lips", Fula makbu rumbu, "close the corn-bin", Hausa mata gara kafa, "woman, close the legs", Igbo anasieye nkpaka voku, "the king's first wife shuts her legs", Nupe ebá 'ore be, "your husband is coming", Efik mba kiko, "close the legs". Many similar forms are found in Bantu languages. Jamaican Creole has "shame Mary", and Trinidad "Mary shut your gate". Krio sét yu mamí bombó has a politer euphemistic form sók yu mamí bobí, "suck your mother's breasts".

- 1) Or for Krio — originally at least — more properly 'father tongue'.

pil". Not having acquired the term via the Pidgin, and often not being in a position to learn the finer points of English from the European population, who were usually in a small minority, especially in later years, Africans who had a command of their own tribal languages were able to draw upon these. This entailed either the unmodified adoption of the African term, e.g. Krio kókówése, "ankle" (< SY kókó ēse, ditto), or a translation into Pidgin of the component morphemes of the African form, e.g. Krio bebí-yay or yáy-pikin, "pupil" (< SY ōmō l'ódžú, "child of the eye", i.e. "pupil") (1).

VI.4.4.0 Syntactic patterns reflecting African origins may also be regarded as calques, although no more than one or two examples will be given in this thesis, concerned as it is with lexicon. Serial verbs, common in all Atlantic creoles, are typically African, cf. Krio kér am gó de, "take it

1) But see this item in VI.3.0.0. Calqued forms are often the first items to be replaced by English-modelled forms in the process of decreolization, cf. Anglicized Krio pyúpil~pyúpul, "pupil (of the eye)".

there", lit. "take it, go there" and Yoruba gbéē yĩ lǒ, lit. "take this go", or Ewe tsó ne yia afíma, lit. "take it, go there". Similarly the Krio construction a ték néf kót am, "I cut it with a knife", lit. "I took a knife, cut it", is paralleled by Twi me dze séká métšwaa nó, lit. "I took knife, cut it".

VI.4.4.1 The following words and expressions in Krio also appear to be calques (or putative calques):

VI.4.4.2 Anatomical

a de sí mi mún

"I am menstruating".

Cf. Grebo hobò ní mǒ né, "I am menstruating", lit. "the moon I am seeing". Cf. Gambian Aku mún óp dé, "menses", Dominica Cr Fr wê lalín, "to menstruate", lit. "see moon".

bebí-yáy }
yáy-pikin }

Pupil of the eye.

Cf. SY ōmǿ l'odžú, "pupil", lit. "child of the eye", Tem-

ne ówónt-ka-réfor, Ngombe mwana
o lisu, ditto.

bobí mót

Nipple, lit. "breast mouth".

Cf. Ngombe monoko wa libeli, ditto,
lit. "mouth of breast".

keké

Elephantiasis scrotum.

See IV.1.4.7.

lik

To eat; to copulate.

Cf. Wolof leq, ditto, with influence from Eng "lick"?

totó yés

Genital labia, lit. "vulva ears".

Cf. Mende teté wôlii, ditto.

Also Saramaccan kú yési, ditto.

wes

Buttocks; by extension, the base or root of anything, e.g. šip-wés, "bow of a ship", banana-wés, "stalk of a banana".

Cf. SY idí, ditto. Each term is also used euphemistically for genitalia in the respective language.

guage.

yáy-dotí }
yáy-kaká }

Matter which collects in the corners of the eyes whilst sleeping, lit. "eye dirt", "eye excrement".

Cf. Mende yâmei kpólí, ditto.

yés-dotí

Earwax, lit. "ear dirt".

Cf. Mende wôlii kpólí, ditto.

VI.4.4.3 Human characteristics and behaviour

a ték gód bég yu!

An expression of incredulity, lit. "I take God, beg you (I beg you by God)".

Cf. SY mō f'olórū be 5, ditto.

Also Sranan mi téci gádo béi yu, ditto.

bété nó dé

An expression of resignation, lit.

"there's nothing better".

Cf. Mende kpékpé ii naa, ditto.

Also JC béta no de, Spanish mejor no hay, ditto.

big-yáy

Covetous, lit. "big eyed".

Cf. Igbo ányá úkú, ditto.

bíg-dadí

Euphemistic term for smallpox.

Cf. SY babá-nlá, "big father",
avoidance name for šakpona, the
god of smallpox and brother of
šango. Calqued in Temne as u-thém
u-banâ or thémbanâ, ditto.

gét belé

To be pregnant.

Cf. Te =bá k-ór, ditto. Also
Crioulo ten bariigə, Pitinègue
gāyé labót.

gí belé

To make pregnant.

Cf. Te =son k-ór, ditto, lit.
"give stomach".

én éd

To confer, hold council.

Cf. Te =gbak té-bómp, ditto, lit.
"hang heads".

ron-belé

Diarrhoea.

Cf. Fu dógú-rédu, ditto, lit.
"run stomach".

díya

Scarce, lit. "dear", as in aw yu

díya so?, "why do we never see you?"

Also "expensive".

Cf. SY ɔwó, "expensive; scarce".

gét séns

To be intelligent, lit. "have sense".

Cf. Temne bá amerâ, ditto.

i gét bad éd

"He is unlucky", lit. "he has a bad head".

Cf. SY ɔlórí būrúkú, ditto.

konakóna

Out-of-the-way district, corner; by extension, secret girlfriend.

Cf. Mende sókú, "corner",

sókúma, "lover".

kót mi át

"Makes me angry", lit. "cuts my heart".

Cf. Mende ndí téé, ditto.

pantáp-pantáp

Superficial, lit. "on top".

Cf. SY l'óke, ditto. Also Pap-
iamentu riba-riba (< Sp arriba,
"above").

sabí búk

To be educated, lit. "know book".

Cf. Mende koló goomo, ditto.

swit mót

Flattery, lit. "sweet mouth".

Cf. Twi nó ānō dēdē, "he is a flatterer", lit. "he has a sweet mouth". Also Gullah sβiit mawt, "flattery".

yerí

Hear, understand, as in yerí krió, "understand Krio".

Cf. Twi te kriyó, ditto. Also Mende mení, Temne təl, "hear, understand".

VI.4.4.4 Food

wan-pót

A rice dish.

Cf. Wolof bena cin, a rice dish, lit. "one pot".

mít-mí-na-élbo

Soup or stew diluted to go further, lit. "meet me at the elbow".

Cf. SY kpadé mī ní gbōwo, "watery stew", lit. "meet me at the elbow".

oní

Honey; bee.

Cf. SY ōyī, "bee, honey", Men-
de kómí, ditto.

yít-dón-brók-plét }
yít-brók-plét }

Celosia sp., lit. "meal finished,
break the plate".

Cf. SY adžēfówō, ditto (see
III.1.4.3).

krawó

Burnt food stuck to the bottom of
the pot (see IV.7.3.4); scab, dried
mucus in nose, etc.

Cf. SY ēékpá, "burnt food;
scab".

VI.4.4.5 Miscellaneous

dó klin

Daybreak, lit. "dawn clean". This
has produced Kr dó dak, "night" by
extension.

Cf. Wolof bər bu set, ditto.

Also Gullah de kliin.

mamí-watá

Mermaid, water sprite, lit. "mother

(of the) water".

Cf. SY iyá-ōlodo, ditto. Also

Sra watra-m'ma, Antilles Cr Fr

mama-dlo, Brazilian Ptg mãe de

água, Guyana Cr waata-muma, dit-

to.

túmos

Too much; very much: a lék am túmos,

"I like it very much".

Cf. Twi dódó, SY kpúkpó, ditto.

wétin dú?

Why?, lit. what does?

Cf. Igbo géné mere, "why", lit.

"what makes, what does". Also

JC wa mek?, Gullah mek so?

VI.4.5.0 Several apparent calques also appear to be convergent with English-derived forms. In addition to bebí-yáy above (VI.4.4.2), which may be convergent with archaic (-1682) English baby, "the small image of oneself reflected in the pupil of another's eye" (OED), the following may also belong to this category:

gódos

Praying mantis. The dialects of Cum-

berland and southern Lancashire have
God's horse, "any bronze beetle of
the genera amara obsoleta, etc."
(EDD).

Cf. Mnk-Bam ala-so "praying
mantis", lit. "God's horse",
and Mdk ala-suo, ditto. Also
JC gadhaas, ditto.

nosól

Nostril. The Lakeland dialects have
nose-hole for nostril (EDD).

Cf. Igbo óyélé-ímí, "nostril",
lit. "nose hole". Also JC
nuozuol, ditto.

pas

More than, used in comparative con-
structions: i bíg pas mí, "he's big-
ger than I". Sc., Yks. and Lancs.
dialects have past all, "unpreceden-
ted" (EDD), DAP has pass, "to sur-
pass", and OED has past, obsolete

and dialectal, "past, in manner or degree", cf. Chapman's Iliad, I, 284: "he affects, past all men, height".

Cf. Twi sen or kyen, "to surpass": owo ahoođen kyen né núa no, "he is stronger than (= "strong surpassing") his brother." A widespread construction in West African languages.

smol'-ós

Latrine, lit. "small house". This occurs in several western dialects as a euphemistic form, and is paralleled in Welsh (tŷ bach, ditto).

Cf. SY ilé-kékéré, ditto.

tray

To be progressing, lit. "try", as in yu de tráy, "you're doing well". Kentish and West Country dialects have try, "to fare, get on, pros-

per", cf. the Devonshire greeting

"how d'ye try?", (EDD).

Cf. SY dáwo, "to attempt; to

make progress".

See also VI.3.1.0.

VI.5.0.0 OBSOLETE ITEMS

From travellers' accounts, several items of Krio vocabulary have been obtained which are no longer current in the modern language.

VI.5.0.1 There are two principal reasons for the loss of these items, viz. the changing Freetown situation, wherein slaving terms, tribal nomenclature, etc., are no longer applicable, and the loss of items from smaller languages because of the limited extent of their currency.

VI.5.1.0 Of the first category, names of the various groups of Liberated Africans recorded by Koelle and others no longer exist, except sometimes in place names (e.g. Kosso Town, Moko Town, etc.). These include among others Mozambiques, a generic term for all East African Recaptives, Kakanja or Takpa for Nupe and related tribes, and Atam for Recaptives from the coast between the Congo and the Cameroons. With the cessation of resettlement, and the loss of tribal identity for most of the smaller groups as they became creolized, such appellations became unnecessary.

VI.5.1.1 Of the second category, items recorded during the

19th century of probable African derivation, but now no longer extant, include the following (from Ghanaian languages):

"boony boony"

Frankincense (Clarke [1843] p. 127).

?Cf. Twi bon, "to emit an odour or particular scent".

"cacabay"

A disease (Winterbottom [1803]).

Cf. Twi kokobé, "leprosy", now léprosi.

"melley"

Gris-gris tree (Clarke [1843] p. 59).

?Cf. Twi á-méré, "tree used as a medicine".

"obi"

Witchcraft (Winterbottom [1803]).

Cf. Twi ōbāyī-fó, "sorcerer", via JC, etc. obia, "witchcraft".

The earliest Krio item in this category is probably T. Astley's "kollilu", mentioned in his Collection of Voyages, Lon-

don (1745), and later by Clarke, misspelled "caliboo" (p. 136) — the name of a spinach-like vegetable.

VI.5.1.2 Several English-derived items have also become lost; these are concerned mainly with customs ("sporting", "cry", "tee and spur"), sometimes with the social situation ("wisko-ing"), or people and their behaviour ("bob", "grummatta").

"bob"

Argument, contention (Burton [1863]).

Cf. China Coast Pidgin bobbery,

"noise, disturbance, row".

NED rejects Eng derivation.

"cry"

Funeral (Winterbottom [1803]).

Cf. Eng cry. This item sur-

vives in CP alongside krayday.

"dry belly ache"

Colic (Clarke [1843] p. 102).

"grummatta"

Boatman (Clarke [1843] p. 167).

Cf. Eng grummet, grommet, "a ring of rope or an eyelet of metal used for a rowlock, (1802)".

- "Poor Peter Hill bird" Malaconotus bird; its cry is
"Peter Hill, poor soul,
Flog him wife, oh no, oh no"
(Clarke [1843] p. 113).
- "sporting" The "dancing" of a coffin by the
pallbearers on the way to the
graveyard (Fyfe [1962]).
- "tee and spur" A game (Rankin [1836]).
- "wisko-ing" The beating-up of tribal Sierra
Leoneans in Freetown by Creoles,
during the late 19th century
(Fyfe [1962] p. 455).

VI.5.1.3 Certain items recorded during the last century survive in modern Krio with change of form. The possibility exists that these were wrongly recorded by the observer (cf. Clarke's "toofoo" for fufú, and "caliboo" for "callaloo"):

- "bug-a-bug" Termite: "they go in the bush,
and take bug-a-bug nest, and

make god..." (Religious Intelligencer,
March, 1821, p. 707). Recorded ear-
lier by Moore (1738) p. 221 as "bug-
gabuggs" (see IV.3.4.8).

Now bog'bóg or gbogbóg.

"footing" }
"foot" }

Menstruation (Clarke [1843] p. 92),
now survives only in the expression
a mis mi fut, "I missed a period".

"jin jin billy" }
"jin jin burrah" }

Locally-distilled spirits (Clarke
[1843] p. 56).

Now only džin, occasionally
džindžín.

"lassymanny"

Charm made from water used to wash
Koranic scriptures (Clarke [1843]
p. 41).

Now lasmámí(-watá); see V.0.4.1.

"piccaninny"

Child (Clarke [1843] p. 39).

Now only pikín; see II.2.4.4.

"scroo masser"

School master (in a poem written in 1860, quoted in Peterson [1969] p. 287).

Now skul-másta.

"sleepy dropsy"

Cataphora (Clarke [1843] p. 95).

Now slipin-dróp.

"tauckel"

Turtle (Rankin [1836] p. 291).

Now (solwatá)-tróki (cf. JC

tórkl, Guyana Creole trókl).

"tookeh-took" }
 "chouca chouca" }

Thorn (Clarke [1843] p. 36, and Melville [1849] p. 17).

Now tšuktšúk; see IV.6.2.1.

Other items in this category phonologically altered in modern Krio (also from the above sources) include "cruitu" ("newcomer, recruit"), now krut, "dissee" ("this"), now dis, "drinke" ("drink"), now drɪŋk, "Godu" ("God"), now gɒd, "headie" ("head"), now ed, "makee", ("make"), now mæk/mek, "'niff" ("sniff"), replaced by drɔ-nós, "'péak" ("speak"), now spik, "sweetie" ("sweet"), now swit, and "talkee", ("talk"), now tɔk.

VI.6.0.0 DOUBLETS

Several items in Krio have more than one term to describe them; while multiple terminology for single concepts must have been widespread during the period of maximum multilingualism, the neutrality of English-derived forms in Krio caused most African alternates eventually to be dropped. A Mende, for example, would have preferred to use an English-derived Krio term than a Temne one for an item, and vice-versa. In addition, English-derived terms were more likely to have been understood by a wider audience than an African one.

VI.6.0.1 For some items, however, especially those pertaining to African concepts, no English term existed, and so an African term either took precedence or two or more multiply-derived terms continued to coexist in the language.

VI.6.0.2 K2 speakers tend to use their own vocabulary to a greater extent than K1 speakers, even employing words from their own languages which do not occur in K1 at all. Some of these may eventually pass into K1 if there is a

need for such a term, but this process seldom successfully results in ousting an existing K1 term, especially if it is English-derived.

VI.6.1.0 Some doublets consist of a general and a specialized term: the general term for "child" is pikín (II.2.4.4), although because of the Yoruba-derived customs surrounding childbirth, the Yoruba-derived omo (III.1.4.8) is frequently used under these specialized circumstances. Similarly "wife" is generally wef in Krio, but for the same reasons that omo is used for "child", yawó is often used for "wife" in matrimonial circumstances.

VI.6.1.1 Yoruba-derived terms do have prestige alongside English-derived counterparts, but are gradually being lost from Krio. Their use often appears to be the result of a conscious attempt to be cryptic, either in the presence of Europeans, or of indigenous Sierra Leoneans. Examples of such doublets include mátšis/zaná (III.1.2.11) "match", klos/ašó (III.1.4.9) "garments", etc.

VI.6.2.0 English-derived terms are frequently introduced

by Creoles who have spent some time in Britain or the United States, or by those hoping to sound more sophisticated in their speech. Thus frog may replace okpoló (III.1.4.5), ónyon may replace yabás or alibósa (V.0.4.5), and so on.

VI.6.3.0 Doublets may indicate the provenance of the various groups of settlers in Freetown; "armpit" is either ondaán or amól in Krio, the former probably representing the pre-Colony form (cf. Sr andr'ánu) and the latter a Maroon form brought in with the Jamaicans (cf. JC ámuol). Since both are English-derived morphemically, neither has been lost.

VI.6.4.0 The Temne-derived kitimá (IV.2.4.1) survives alongside the more prestigious Yoruba-derived iróko (III.1.4.3) for "ironwood" since the former are, as carpenters, more commonly associated with this item.

VI.7.0.0 UNEXPLAINED ITEMS

While the majority of items in Krio can be explained historically, a few have defied attempts to trace their origin. Working with available informants and dictionaries may help to establish what an item probably is not, and suggests that the term being researched derives either from a more obscure language, for which sources are unavailable, is an indigenous coining within Krio itself (see VI.0.2.0), or has become phonologically or semantically so far removed from the source-form as to be unrecognizable.

VI.7.0.1 Such items are not restricted to any particular semantic areas, nor do they fit any characteristic phonological pattern.

VI.7.1.0 Some such items are reminiscent of English forms, e.g. délba "calico", soyt "tasty", šeb "to share" or "wisko" (obs.) "to beat up non-Creole Sierra Leoneans".

VI.7.1.1 Others are typically African in form, e.g. bilóló "sleepyhead", džopóta "animal sp.", perete "insignificant", palampó "unattached male", including Arabic-looking lák-

amtráš "nickname for a Lebanese" or íškəkəwíš "exclamation expressing distain for another's finery".

VI.7.1.2 Still others could be African or English in origin, e.g. džebés "hog", mezó "dull-witted person", tšalamáta "rush mat", etc.

VI.7.2.0 In all etymological studies, any list of unexplained items is usually a progressively decreasing one. The examples given here are illustrative of a much larger list. which, it is to be hoped, future research will help to shorten.

VII.0.0.0 APPENDICES

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A complete bibliography of works on Sierra Leone Krio, as well as all other pidginized and creolized languages, is currently in preparation under the directorship of Professor S. Tsuzaki, University of Hawaii; chief compiler, Dr J.E. Reinecke.

VII.3.0.0 ABBREVIATIONS

VII.3.0.0 ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE THESIS

Afr	African	Gr	Grebo
Bak	Bakweri	Gu	Gullah
Bam	Bambara	Guy	Guyana
Bi	Bini	H	High
Bul	Bullom	Hau	Hausa
C	Consonant	ibid.	In the same place
(C)	Clarke (1843)	infra	Later in the text
CA	Classical Arabic	JC	Jamaican Creole
ca.	About	Ki	Kikongo
CCP	China Coast Pidgin	Ko	Kono (Konno)
CD	Chokoni Davies (Kru Informant)	Kr	Krio
cf.	Compare; refer to	KrF	Krio Fula
Ch	Chapter	L	Low
CLS	Creole Language Studies	Lim	Limba
CP	Cameroons Pidgin	Lo	Loko
Cr	Creole; Crioulo	loc. cit.	At the place already referred to
DAP	Halliwel (1855)	Mb	Mbundu
ditto	The same	Mdg	Manding
DJE	Cassidy and LePage (1967)	Mdk	Madinka
Du	Dutch	Me	Mende
EDD	Wright (1961)	MK	Mrs Kamara (Kru infor- mant)
EDDG	Wright (1968)	Mka	Maninka
Eng	English	Mnk	Mandinka
(F)	Forde (1954)	n(n).	(foot)note(s)
ff.	And following	N	Nasal consonant
FJ	Futa Jalon	NeoMel	Neo-Melanesian
Ful	Fula	op. cit.	The work referred to
Fr	French	p(p).	Page(s)
		PE	Pidgin English
		pt.	Part

Ptg	Portuguese	(W)	Winterbottom (1803)
Sara	Saramaccan	Wo	Wolof
SOED	Little, et al. (1968)	Yor	Yoruba form elicited from informant (cf. SY)
Sp	Spanish	*	Hypothetical or recon- structed form
Sr	Sranan		
ST	Twi from Chris- taller (1933)	<	Derives from
STY	Partridge (1933)	>	Yields
Su	Susu (Soso)	/ /	Encloses phonemic transcription
supra	Earlier in the text	[]	Encloses phonetic transcription
SY	Standard Yoruba from Abrahams (1958)	:	Corresponds to
Te	Temne	ŵ	Prominent stress or high tone
Ṽ	Nasal vowel	Ṽ	Mid tone
!	Downstep between adjacent high tones	ṽ	Low tone
		ŵ(C)	Falling tone
		ŵ(C)˘	Falling tone
~	Alternates with	obs.	Obsolete or obsolescent
K1	Krio as a first language	K2	Krio as a second language

VII.4.0.0 INDEX VERBORUM

a I.4.3.0, ábádá V.0.4.7, abadí-ábádá V.0.4.7, abadin-ábádán V.0.4.7, abasák II.1.1.1a, abádžo III.1.4.14, abalá III.1.4.3, abáná II.1.7.4, abánšólá III.1.4.2, abíyámó III.1.4.8, abodžá III.1.2.8, III.1.4.1, abóbó III.4.3.1a, III.4.4.5, abóna V.1.1.1, abudžá III.1.2.8, III.1.4.1, abuké III.1.1.3, III.1.4.7, abúlé III.1.4.10, adá III.1.4.1, adé III.1.4.13, adébáyo III.1.4.13, adébísí III.1.4.13, adé-džobí II.1.7.1dn, adetí III.1.2.8, III.1.4.7, adikadí III.1.4.2, V.0.4.1, adikálí III.1.4.2, V.0.4.1, adú II.1.1.2, adurá V.0.4.1, adža III.1.4.10, adžá V.0.4.1, adžáde III.1.4.1, adžáyébul V.0.4.6, VI.2.1.2, adžáyíban V.0.4.6, adžanakú III.1.3.2, III.1.4.5, III.1.4.9, adžayí III.1.4.13, adžé ó III.1.4.12, adže III.1.4.8, adžéfáro III.1.2.11, adžéfówo III.1.2.11, adžéyofonlá III.1.2.3a, adžireké III.1.4.0, adžiríks II.1.1.7, adžo III.1.2.9, adžóyni II.1.1.3f, afere III.1.2.6, III.1.4.1, afó III.1.4.1, afodžúdi III.1.4.14, agándásí III.1.2.2d, III.1.3.3, III.1.4.9, agemo III.1.4.2, agere III.1.4.1, agidi III.1.4.3, agitét II.1.1.1a, agógó I.4.1.1, aguda III.1.4.2, agúgú III.1.4.2, agba III.1.4.1-2, agbádá III.1.4.9, agbádú III.1.4.5, agbánšólá III.1.4.2, agbará III.1.4.11, agbórí III.1.2.4, II.1.4.6, agborí III.1.4.1, agboró III.1.2.2c, ak I.4.3.0, II.1.1.1a, II.1.1.2, II.1.3.5b, akák II.1.3.5b, akára III.1.4.5, V.0.4.7, akara-bíntš VI.2.3.1, akarakúru III.1.2.10, akatá III.1.3.2, akéré III.1.4.5, áke V.0.4.4, akéte III.1.4.9, akín III.1.4.13, akó III.1.4.1, akowé III.1.4.1, akríbóto III.1.2.7, III.1.4.7, akróyal II.1.3.6, aks I.4.3.0, II.1.1.5, akú III.1.3.2, akpa III.1.4.14, akpání-yáms VI.2.3.2, akpárí III.1.4.7, akparó III.1.2.10, akpáro III.1.4.1, akparoró III.1.2.8, akpároro III.1.4.1, akpátá III.1.3.1, III.1.4.11, akpétési II.1.5.1, III.4.4.7, III.1.4.10, akpo III.1.4.1, ála II.1.1.1e, II.1.1.2, V.0.4.4, VI.3.1.2, al-abá III.1.4.13, aládži V.0.4.1, alágba III.1.2.8, III.1.4.1, alágbá III.1.4.2, III.1.2.8, alágbadúdú III.1.4.6, alágbadžá III.1.4.12, alákí V.0.4.2, alákpa III.1.4.3, alán I.4.1.5, alan-kóba(n)-de II.1.7.1d, alangáta III.1.2.11, III.1.3.3, alángbášá III.1.4.2, alárugbé III.1.4.2, alé III.1.3.2, ale II.3.2.2, alédžo VI.0.2.3, alfá III.1.2.7, V.0.4.1, áli II.1.1.2, alí(-nét) III.4.4.7, alibósa V.0.4.5, alifudí III.4.3.1c, III.4.4.6, aligéta II.1.1.4b, aligéta-pépe II.1.8.3, II.4.1.2, III.1.4.3, aligréta II.1.1.4b, alikálí III.1.4.2, IV.4.4.0, V.0.4.1, alikpérí III.1.3.2, III.1.4.7, alimámi V.0.4.1, alkú V.0.4.6, alombák III.6.2.2, alubósa V.0.4.5, am II.1.1.2, II.1.6.5, áma I.4.1.4, II.1.1.1d, amáka II.1.5.4, II.2.2.1, II.2.3.0, II.2.4.1, ámbilans II.1.1.3e, ambóg II.1.1.2, ambógin VI.2.1.2, amól VI.6.3.0, amók II.1.5.4, an II.1.1.1d, II.1.3.5a, anánsi III.4.0.2,

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 bufute IV.2.4.9, "bug-a-bug" VI.5.1.3, buk I.4.1.1, II.1.
 1.2, II.1.4.4, búli II.1.7.4, bulí II.3.4.3, buluko IV.2.
 4.1, bundží-ás II.1.7.1d, bus II.1.1.1b, butá I.4.1.1, bú-
 tša II.1.1.4c, butú III.4.3.1b, III.4.4.2, búwi II.1.3.5c, 6,
 būyá IV.3.3.0, IV.3.4.2, bwel II.1.1.2, II.1.3.5c, byus II.
 1.3.5b.

"cacabay" III.4.4.2, VI.5.1.1, "chouca chouca" VI.5.1.3,
 "cruitu" VI.5.1.3, "cry" VI.5.1.2.

dabarú IV.3.4.4, VI.3.2.3, dadá III.1.3.3, III.1.4.6, damú IV.3.4.4, VI.3.1.2, dándá II.1.4.4, dandógó III.1.3.1, dán-en-danyél II.1.7.1d, dánšíkí III.2.1.1, III.2.2.4, dantégé IV.3.4.4, IV.4.5.5, dās I.4.2.0, daš III.4.4.8, VI.3.1.2, dāšíkí III.2.4.4, dat II.1.1.1a, day II.1.7.4, dáyf(a) II.1.1.1b, II.1.3.5d, de II.1.6.3, III.6.2.4, VI.3.1.1, VI.3.2.1, déde II.1.1.1a, II.1.1.4, déró III.1.4.13, dē I.4.2.0, II.1.6.5, deks II.1.1.5, délba VI.7.1.0, dem I.4.1.1, déngi, déngyu II.1.8.4, di II.1.1.1a, III.6.2.4, VI.3.1.1, did II.1.1.2, dip II.1.1.1a, díró III.1.4.13, disí II.1.1.8, "dis-see" VI.5.3.3, distródž II.1.8.5, ditá III.6.1.2, III.6.2.2, díya VI.4.4.3, diyambá IV.3.4.9, IV.5.2.1, díyas II.1.7.1c, díyediye III.1.4.14, dizél II.1.1.3c, do II.1.1.2, II.1.4.4, dódó III.1.4.6, dogó III.4.4.1 dogó-sláys III.4.4.1, dó-klin VI.4.4.5, dokó III.4.4.1, dombáy IV.1.4.11, IV.5.2.1, VI.3.1.5, dondó III.1.2.3a, dondondáya I.4.4.1, dowú III.1.4.13, dóbyu II.1.1.3b, dódul II.1.1.1a, dog II.1.1.2, dogári III.2.2.1, doks II.1.7.1a, dókta II.1.3.5b, dokta-džóns II.1.7.3a, dokwí IV.1.4.7, dom II.1.1.1d, dón III.6.2.4, VI.3.1.1, dónáydul II.1.1.1d, doní IV.1.4.13, don II.1.1.1d, II.1.1.2, II.1.3.5a,b, donglín II.1.1.1e, II.1.1.4a, donwés I.4.1.4n, dotí III.4.4.8, dotí-bóy VI.1.1.5, dotí-kolombo II.1.7.1d, dózin II.1.3.5b, dra I.4.2.0, II.1.1.2, II.1.3.5b, drap II.1.1.2, II.1.3.5b, drayná VI.1.1.1, drayv II.1.7.2, drek II.1.7.1, dreb II.1.7.2, drif II.1.3.6, drim I.4.1.4, II.1.1.1d, "drinkee" VI.5.3.3, drink I.4.3.0, drí-sul II.1.1.1b, dro I.4.2.0, dródžis II.1.1.1c, II.1.8.4, dróma VI.2.1.2, drops II.1.7.1a,4, dros II.1.1.1b, drúwa II.1.3.5b, "dry belly ache" VI.5.1.2, dulí IV.4.5.0,4, VI.3.2.4, duls IV.4.5.4, II.1.1.7, dumbáy IV.1.4.11, IV.5.2.1, dúmbe IV.2.4.3, dúmbuléku I.4.4.1, dúnya V.0.4.1, dúwá ó V.0.4.1.

džab II.1.1.2, džadžá VI.3.1.2, džagadžágá III.4.4.3, džagú III.1.4.1, džágwa II.1.7.3, džakaló V.0.4.3, džakará V.0.4.3, džakas-ós VI.1.1.1, džakató III.6.1.2, III.6.2.2, džákítómboy IV.1.4.11, džalaba V.0.4.1, džaladžála III.1.3.3, džálas II.1.1.2, džále III.1.4.14, džamá V.0.4.2, džáman II.1.7.3, džambatútú IV.3.4.8, džámámá IV.1.4.1, džams II.1.7.1a, džánama V.0.4.1, džandža III.1.2.5, džániwari II.1.1.2,3e, džanğabiné IV.1.4.10, džanğré IV.1.4.6, džanğkoníko III.1.2.11, džara III.1.4.1, džárá III.1.4.1,2, džaráf II.1.1.2, II.1.7.4, džarasá IV.5.4.6, džasapán II.3.1.4, II.3.2.4, džatrúd II.1.1.1c, džayánama V.0.4.1, džázi II.1.3.5b, džebés VI.7.1.2, džédže III.1.4.1, džedžesí II.1.1.8, džegé II.2.4.1, III.1.4.1, džékop II.1.3.5d, džénwari II.1.1.2, II.1.1.3e, džéngbétútu IV.1.4.15, džepaní II.1.7.1b, II.1.8.4, džeb II.1.3.6, džebú III.1.4.2, džebú-moní II.1.7.1dn,

džékudžé I.4.1.3, džekute III.1.2.8, III.1.4.7, džekpé IV.1.4.6, džepé IV.1.4.6, džerí-moré II.1.7.1d, džib I.4.1.1, II.1.1.1a, džigá II.1.5.0, džigifúd, džigifúl II.1.1.1a, džimbóri I.4.1.3, džínamayt II.1.1.1c, džínáy V.0.4.1, džiniyén II.1.1.1c, džínral I.4.2.0, II.1.1.2, II.1.3.5b, džirál II.1.3.5b, džirényon II.1.1.1d, džisí II.1.1.8, II.4.1.3, džisno II.1.1.2, džiyenotú II.1.1.8, džóbáy IV.1.4.1, džokénggé IV.1.4.14, džókodžé III.1.2.9, III.1.4.3, džolábeté IV.1.4.11, džoló IV.3.4.8, džombí III.5.2.2, VI.3.2.7, džomp II.1.1.1a,2, džondžó VI.3.2.2, džongá III.5.2.2, džonk I.4.3.0, II.1.4.4, džodž II.1.1.1c, džog II.1.3.6, džólof III.6.1.0,2, džon-bénsin-de II.1.7.1d, džonólt II.1.7.1d, džónsin II.1.1.3g, džonks I.4.3.0, II.1.7.1a, džopóta VI.7.1.1, džúbloks II.1.4.4, II.1.7.1a, džúdas II.1.7.1d, džudžú III.2.2.6, džulamán IV.3.4.2, džus II.1.7.1a,d, džuví II.1.1.7, džúwel II.1.1.1c, II.1.1.3c.

e I.4.3.0, ébi II.1.1.1a,2, ébolo III.1.2.11, III.1.4.3, ébri II.1.1.2, ébul I.4.2.0, II.1.1.1b, II.1.1.3c, ed II.1.1.2, edití II.1.1.8, édžilá III.1.3.3, VI.1.1.7, edžimá III.3.1.0, édžiri III.1.2.2b, eg II.1.1.2, egúgú III.1.2.2a, III.1.4.2, egbére III.1.4.1, égbolo III.1.2.11, III.1.4.3, ekélódžóti, ekélódžúti III.1.2.8, III.1.3.1, ekemóre II.1.7.1d, eketšúkú III.3.1.0, ekuru III.1.2.2a, III.1.2.8, III.1.4.7, ekúwaála III.1.4.12, émina III.1.4.3, éndžel II.1.1.3c, epí II.1.1.8, erí III.1.4.1, éria II.1.1.2, es II.1.1.2, II.1.1.3e, II.1.3.5a,b,6, éside II.1.1.3a,e, II.1.3.5a, esúsú III.1.2.8, esu III.1.4.14, et II.1.3.5a, etšdžidží II.1.1.8, ewéakokó, ewéyakukó III.1.4.3.

ebé III.1.4.3, ebeletšúkú III.3.1.0, edikét II.1.1.3b, edžáro III.1.2.9, III.1.4.5, edžbón II.1.8.3, ef II.1.1.2, éfa III.1.3.3, VI.1.1.7, éfo III.1.4.3, efónyóri III.1.2.2b, egbóšeré II.1.7.1dn, egbó III.1.2.8, egúsi III.1.4.3, egzám ekó III.1.4.3, ekspí II.1.1.7, eléya III.1.4.14, éleba II.1.1.2, elél II.1.1.8, eléyi III.1.3.2, emsí II.1.1.8, émti II.1.3.5a, ené II.1.1.8, enímédži III.1.2.11, III.1.3.2, éniyolá III.1.4.14, entí II.1.1.2, III.4.4.8, VI.3.1.1, en I.4.2.0, én éd VI.1.4.2, enkíntša II.1.1.4a, II.1.3.5a, ep II.1.1.3b, épsin II.1.1.1d, eša III.1.4.1, éta III.1.4.1, éwí I.4.2.0, eyé III.1.4.9, éyo III.1.4.2.

fáda II.1.1.1a,2, VI.0.3.0, fadá VI.0.3.0, fadam II.1.1.2, II.1.3.5a, fadenló II.1.1.2, fádin II.1.3.5c, fak II.1.1.2, fakalé I.4.1.1, fáktri II.1.1.6, II.1.3.5b, fakú III.1.2.3d, III.1.2.4, III.1.4.1, fála II.1.4.4, fam II.1.7.3a, fámbul II.1.1.4bn, II.1.3.5a, fantá IV.3.4.10, IV.4.4.0, fangé IV.2.3.9, IV.2.4.10, faráka II.2.3.0, II.2.4.3, farínya II.2.2.1, II.2.4.0,3, fástina II.1.8.4, fášin I.4.1.2, II.1.1.1b,3g.

fátyos-bómpyos II.4.1.1, faya-bómp VI.1.1.2, fayn II.1.1.2, II.2.4.6, fe IV.1.4.12, fénggré IV.2.3.9, IV.2.4.10, ferí II.1.1.2, fes II.1.1.1b, févo II.1.7.2, fébiwari II.1.1.2, 3e, fedí III.1.4.14, fedó II.1.1.2, feg II.1.1.2, féle II.1.1.2, fen II.1.1.3a, II.2.4.6, fénté IV.2.4.6, fentš II.1.1.3a, ferégbe IV.7.3.4, ferekú V.0.4.6, ffi I.4.2.0, fíba II.1.1.2, II.1.7.2, fiks II.1.1.5, II.1.7.1a, fil II.1.1.2, II.1.4.4, fim II.1.1.3b, fis II.1.1.1b, físiwálí V.0.4.4, fíšin II.1.1.1d, II.1.3.5a, II.1.7.1c, fitírí V.0.4.1, fí-tíš II.2.4.2, fitrí II.1.4.4, V.0.4.1, flag II.1.3.6, flaks II.1.1.5, flandó I.4.1.1, II.1.8.5, flanenét, flanét II.1.1.6, flañšíp II.1.1.2, VI.1.1.6, flap II.1.3.6, flayg II.1.1.2, flayn-bót VI.1.1.6, flekefléke II.2.4.6, flengbén-siš VI.0.2.0, flitámbo III.4.4.4, flo II.1.1.2, floré I.4.1.2, floks II.1.4.4, II.1.7.1, flomóks II.1.7.3, fo II.1.1.2, fobóya IV.2.4.11, fógbo IV.2.4.11, fóntóbá IV.3.4.3, "foot", "footing" VI.5.1.3, fos II.1.1.2, II.2.4.6, fo I.4.2.0, II.1.1.2, II.1.4.5, VI.3.1.1, fódóm II.1.1.3b, foks II.1.7.1a, folfés II.1.7.3a, fom III.2.2.2, fon II.1.1.2, fónel II.1.1.3c, forín II.1.1.1b, forokú V.0.4.6, fos II.1.1.2, II.1.3.5a, fotó I.4.2.0, II.1.1.2, II.1.3.5b, fráka fray I.4.1.6, I.4.3.0, frem II.1.1.2, fres, freš II.1.3.5a, frešé II.1.1.2, fritámbo III.4.4.4, frög VI.6.2.0, froš I.4.3.0, II.1.4.4, frøy II.1.7.1d, fu IV.2.4.9, fúfafú IV.3.4.11, fufú III.4.4.6, fúgbagba IV.2.4.6, fukfúk III.1.2.7, III.1.4.6, fula-bóta IV.6.2.1, fula-músu IV.6.0.2, fula-tóp IV.6.2.1, fúl-galéšan II.1.7.1d, fúmi III.1.4.13, fumpó IV.2.4.4, fúndé IV.4.5.1, fúrá III.2.1.1, III.2.2.5, futá II.1.7.1dn, fyofó IV.1.4.7.

gadinégs II.1.7.1a, gaf II.1.3.6, gafára III.2.2.2, galínes IV.5.0.0, galivántin II.1.7.1c, galós II.1.1.1b, galút II.1.4.4, galvá II.1.1.7, gambarí III.1.4.8, III.2.2.1,4, gambí IV.1.4.7, gánsí, gánzi II.1.3.6, II.1.3.5b, gánga VI.3.0.3, gará IV.3.4.6, garí III.1.5.3, gárizin II.1.1.1b, gaskóni II.3.2.1, gáta III.2.2.2, gavás II.1.1.1a, II.3.2.1, gāy IV.2.4.9, geremašéke, geremošéke III.1.4.1,9, gérí IV.1.4.15, gedégedé III.1.2.11, III.1.4.11, gege III.1.4.7, gegrí II.1.1.3d, geledé III.1.4.0,2, gendemé IV.1.4.7, gen II.1.1.2, gerégeré III.1.2.11, III.1.4.11, gét bád éd VI.4.4.3, gét belé VI.1.4.2, gét séns VI.4.4.3, gi I.4.3.0, gí belé VI.1.4.2, gig II.1.1.1a, II.1.4.4, gilyán II.1.8.4, ginét II.1.1.2, gízi I.4.1.1, II.1.1.1b, gládi I.4.2.0, II.1.4.4, glóri II.1.1.2, "Godu" VI.5.1.3, gongóngon III.1.2.3a, III.1.4.6, got II.1.1.2, góbóy IV.1.4.1, godós VI.4.5.0, gólóp II.1.4.4, gombúkapú IV.1.4.9, gompóda II.1.3.5b, gonflít II.1.3.6, góta II.1.1.2, góvment II.1.1.6, góvna II.1.3.5b,c, govna-gét VI.1.1.2, gradiyét II.1.1.3e, granát II.1.1.2, granát-yáy II.1.7.3.a, graní II.1.7.3a, graní-frók II.1.7.3, grap II.1.1.1b,2, VI.2.1.3, grayn II.1.1.2,

3a, II.1.3.5b, gréta II.1.4.4, grev I.4.1.2, gregrí II.1.1.3d, gri II.1.1.6n, II.1.3.5b, grin I.4.1.4, grinfláy II.1.7.1, groná VI.1.1.1, grog, grog-šáp II.1.3.6, gron II.1.3.5b, II.1.7.2n, "grummatta" VI.5.1.2, gumbe III.5.2.2, gunugúnú, gunukú III.1.4.2, guṅk VI.3.2.2, gus II.1.4.5, gwangwá IV.1.4.14, gwáta II.1.1.2, gwavá II.2.4.3, gwebá II.2.3.0, II.2.4.3, gyad, gyad-rúm II.1.1.3a, gyal II.1.1.2, 3a, gyál-pikin, gyáli, gyálik II.1.1.3a, gyambé II.1.1.3a, III.6.2.1, gyambé-granát, gyambé-ós III.6.2.1, VI.2.3.3, gyambé-plóm, gyambé-tšibús III.6.2.1, gyámbul, gyap II.1.1.3c, gyet II.1.1.3e, II.1.1.1a.

gbáda III.1.4.1, III.1.2.11, gbádé IV.2.4.7, gbadógbadó III.1.4.2, gbadžé III.1.2.11, gbagbatí IV.1.4.6, gbalá VI.3.2.6, gbáma III.5.2.3, gbánákakrá IV.1.4.4, gbangbá, gbangbá-íla, gbangbá-íle IV.2.4.1, gbangba-odé III.1.4.1, gbangúrérés IV.1.4.12, gbapané IV.2.4.4, gbaragbárá IV.1.4.6, gbatá III.1.2.11, gbato IV.1.4.2, gbegí III.1.4.2, IV.1.4.15, gbéléngbéléng IV.2.4.9, gbément VI.2.2.0, gbegbe IV.2.4.7, gbégbé-bangá IV.1.4.12, gbekéyeke IV.2.4.9, gbekpé IV.2.4.4, gbénko IV.7.3.2, gbenkré IV.2.4.2, gbepé IV.2.4.4, gbesí IV.2.4.1, gbinikú I.4.1.1, gbíngbín IV.1.4.6, gbo III.1.4.4, gbó III.1.4.7, III.4.4.2, gbogbo III.1.4.1, gbógbó III.1.4.2, gbongbó IV.2.4.1, gbotólombó I.4.4.1, gbógbóg IV.3.4.8, gbongbó IV.7.3.2, gbugbwayé III.1.4.1, gbákanda IV.8.2.3, gbéné IV.2.4.5.

hawangót VI.2.2.0, "headie" VI.5.1.3.

ib I.4.3.0, II.1.3.5a, ibilís V.0.4.1, ibosí ó III.1.4.12, ibóp II.1.3.6, ibták II.1.3.6, ídem II.1.1.1d, idžakpá III.1.3.2, III.1.4.5, idžaló III.1.2.3c, III.1.4.5, igén I.4.2.0, igi III.1.4.0, igi-owó III.1.4.8, igunú, igunukú III.1.4.2, igbale III.1.4.1,2, igbedú III.1.4.1, igberi III.1.2.8, III.1.4.1, iklíp II.1.1.3a, II.1.7.1b, ikó III.1.4.3, ilékéwú III.1.4.2, ilénikwá III.1.1.3, III.1.4.8, ína VI.3.2.1, indžaló III.1.2.3c, III.1.4.5, inspáya II.1.7.4, int I.4.3.0, intakoló II.1.1.7, indžin II.1.1.2, II.1.3.5b, íntšis II.1.1.2, II.1.7.1a, II.1.8.3, ínglis I.2.2.2, II.1.1.1b, II.1.3.5a, íngliš II.1.3.5a, iróko III.1.4.3, ísay I.4.2.0, iši, iši, iší III.1.2.2b,3c, íškəkowíš VI.7.1.1, it I.4.3.0, ít-brók-plét, ít-dón-brók-plét III.1.4.3, ívin II.1.3.5a,b, íya II.1.3.5b.

"jin jin billy", "jin jin burrah", VI.5.1.3.

ka II.1.1.2, kã I.4.2.0, kabalá-pépe II.1.1.5n, kabaslót II.1.8.3, kabáy II.1.1.3a, II.1.3.5a, kábo III.1.2.9, III.1.4.12, kabúdu II.1.1.3b, II.1.4.4, kafirí V.0.4.2, kafó III.1.4.1, kafrí V.0.4.2, kagbóna III.3.1.0, kaká II.2.2.1, II.2.4.6, kaká-tambá III.2.1.3b, kaklét II.1.1.3b, II.1.1.6,

kálá IV.2.4.11, kalabá-bíntš VI.2.3.3, kálé ó III.1.4.12,
 kalísis IV.6.2.1, kalokáló IV.4.3.0, IV.4.5.5, kã(m) I.4.
 2.0, kamakúma IV.1.4.1, kamarád, kamaráŋk II.3.2.1, kamarú
 II.1.1.3f, I.4.2.0, kambás II.1.1.1a, kamó IV.3.4.1, kána,
 kánaba II.1.1.2, kandá III.5.2.2, kandá-belé III.1.1.1,
 kánéda II.1.8.4, kánsul II.1.4.4, kaŋga IV.7.3.4, kaŋgá
 IV.8.2.1, kaŋgré IV.3.4.8, kaŋgbé IV.3.4.3, kaŋkaní III.
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 2.2.3, karamó, karamókó, karandé IV.3.4.1, karangbá IV.3.
 3.0, IV.3.4.8, káráŋké IV.3.4.3, káré IV.3.4.3, karozín II.
 1.1.2, káró ó III.1.4.12, kasáda II.1.1.1b, kásáŋké IV.3.
 3.0, IV.3.4.1, V.0.4.1, kasára II.1.1.1b, kasará IV.5.2.1,
 V.0.4.6, kasí IV.3.4.1, káswal II.1.1.3e, kaší VI.3.1.6,
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 keké II.1.1.8, kékéré III.1.2.11, III.1.4.2, kékéré-agbá
 III.1.4.1, keledžú III.1.2.8, kéndá IV.1.4.11, IV.2.4.2,
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 1.8.4, ketš II.1.1.2, kek I.4.2.0, II.1.4.4, keké IV.1.4.7,
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 4.3, kítíkítí III.4.4.3, kitimá IV.2.4.1, kítul II.1.1.2,
 II.2.2.1, II.2.4.1, kiyó IV.1.4.12, klem I.4.2.0, II.1.1.2,
 II.1.3.5b, klif II.1.1.1b, klintš I.4.1.3, kliyaráwt II.1.
 3.6, klos II.1.1.1b, II.1.3.5a, klozin-bús III.1.4.1, klodí
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 5n, III.1.2.11, III.1.4.1, kokó II.1.5.0, III.4.4.5, kok-
 óbo II.1.1.5n, III.1.2.11, III.1.4.1, kókóró(-bón) IV.1.4.
 11, kokotába III.1.2.5, kokówése III.1.4.1,6, kóla II.1.
 5.4, IV.2.4.1, "kollilu" I.2.4.4, VI.5.1.1, kómbra IV.2.4.
 3, kónání IV.1.4.6, kondó IV.2.4.8, kongofó IV.1.4.10,
 kongosá III.4.3.0, III.4.4.3, koŋkó III.1.4.0n, IV.4.5.0,
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 7, kóba II.1.1.2, kobókóbó IV.4.5.1, kódiray II.1.1.3e,
 kofí(-óda) II.1.1.2,3e, kófišon II.1.1.1b,3e, kóftá IV.2.
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 kolé II.1.4.4, kolós II.1.7.1a, komíšon II.2.2.1, II.2.4.
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 konakóna VI.4.4.3, kondí IV.3.4.7, kóndó IV.1.4.11, konfí
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III.1.4.13, kongolí IV.1.4.1, kónkó IV.2.4.5, kɔp II.1.1.2, kópa II.1.7.2, kopá II.1.1.7, kópɔ II.1.1.2, II.1.7.2, II.2.2.1, II.2.4.1, kórent II.1.3.5c, kɔrín II.2.2.1, II.2.4.2,5, kɔrɔ I.4.1.1, kósed II.1.8.4, VI.2.1.2, kɔsmént, kɔs-tamént II.1.1.4a, II.1.1.6, II.1.4.5, kɔt II.1.3.5c, kɔtlás, kɔtláš II.1.3.6, kót mi át VI.4.4.3, kɔtɔ IV.3.3.0, IV.3.4.3, IV.4.4.0, IV.6.0.2, kɔtší II.1.1.2, II.1.4.4, kɔvétšɔs II.1.4.4, kɔyɔ IV.1.4.6, kɔzín II.1.7.3a, krábit II.1.4.4, krak II.1.4.4, kraŋk, II.1.3.6, krapó II.1.4.4, kratš II.1.1.3, kratšná VI.1.1.1, krawó IV.7.3.3, VI.4.4.4, krebišín II.1.1.3a, krenkré(n) III.4.3.0, III.4.4.5, krep II.1.1.3, kres II.1.1.2, II.1.4.4, krésmes II.1.8.3, krífi IV.2.4.10, krikrít II.1.1.4b, krim II.1.1.3, krip II.1.4.4, krips II.1.1.5, krísín II.1.3.5a, kri(y)ó II.1.1.3b, II.2.2.1, II.2.4.4, III.1.4.8, kro II.1.7.3, krɔb II.1.1.3, II.1.3.5c, krɔkró II.1.1.4c, III.4.4.2, krɔks II.1.4.4, krɔkrɔdáyɪ II.1.1.4b,c, krɔmskrɔms II.1.7.1a, krɔsbrídž II.1.1.1c, II.1.8.3, krubómbó IV.1.4.9, VI.2.2.0, krušé II.1.1.2,3d, krut I.4.2.0, krutó IV.3.4.6, kuk II.1.1.2, kúkúndukú III.1.4.3, kukuyá III.1.4.14, kukuyéré III.1.4.14, kulí II.1.1.2, kúmá IV.2.4.11, kúndu IV.2.4.1, kúnó III.1.2.2, kunt II.1.4.4, kunú II.1.3.6, kúnkúbé IV.1.4.1, kúpé IV.2.4.6, kúrá III.4.4.6, kúrú III.1.2.10, kuskás III.4.4.3, kuskús V.0.4.5, kušé II.1.1.2,3d, kušé ó III.1.4.12, kušú II.1.1.2, II.1.5.0, kutukútú III.1.2.8, III.1.4.11, kúyekúye I.4.2.0, kwáya II.1.1.2,3, kweb II.1.1.3, kwéšɔn II.1.1.3a, kwíknin II.1.7.1c, kwilt II.1.8.5, kwíní II.1.1.3f, kwis II.1.1.3, kyábin II.1.1.1a, II.1.3.6, kyámbul, kyámp, kyan, kyándul, kyant II.1.1.1a, kyap II.1.1.1a, II.1.1.2, kyápin II.1.1.1a, II.1.3.5b,6, kyápínta, kyapsáy, kyapsgón kyás II.1.1.1a, kyastóf II.1.1.1a, II.1.3.6, kyaš, kyat, kyatfís II.1.1.1a, kyatnáyntel, kyatnáynten II.1.1.1a, II.1.3.6, kyāwúd II.1.1.1a, II.1.5.4, IV.2.4.1.

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na IV.3.4.11, VI.3.1.1, VI.3.2.1, na dó II.1.6.6, na í VI.3.1.1, nába II.1.1.2, náfale IV.1.4.1, nagó III.1.2.5, nanás II.1.5.0, II.2.2.1, II.2.4.3, nására V.0.4.1, nasó III.4.4.8, nat II.1.1.2, II.1.7.2n, nébul II.1.3.5a, nef II.1.1.2, negenége IV.3.4.4, VI.3.1.2, neké VI.3.1.2, neks II.1.3.5a, nem II.1.1.2, II.1.3.5b, nengenenge IV.3.4.4, "niff" VI.5.1.3, nid, nil II.1.1.1a, nikodíməs II.1.7.1d, nindul II.1.1.4a, noadóv II.1.7.1d, nos II.1.1.1b, nosól VI.4.5.0, nóvel II.1.1.2, nózri II.1.1.2, no II.1.1.1d, II.1.6.3, nóba II.1.1.2, nókuls II.1.7.1a, nónó IV.3.4.10, nəró I.4.1.4, nwa-kakú III.3.1.0, nyakanyáká III.4.4.8, nyáli II.1.1.1d, nyam IV.6.2.1, VI.3.1.5, nyams I.4.1.4, II.1.1.1d, II.1.7.1a, nyanjá II.1.1.1e, nyébé III.6.2.2, nyən II.1.1.1d, nyu II.1.1.1d.

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obé III.1.4.1, obéyáta III.1.4.3, obí II.1.1.7, obóbó III.4.4.5, oboro I.2.1.1, III.1.2.6, III.3.1.2, oborómí III.1.4.2, óbsin II.1.3.5a, obú, obú III.1.2.2a, óda II.1.3.5a, ode III.1.4.0,1, ódža VI.0.2.3, odžá III.1.4.9, odže III.1.4.2, og II.1.1.2, ogá III.1.4.8, ogongošú III.1.2.6, III.1.4.8, ogzón II.1.1.1a, ogbénté IV.2.4.5, oka III.1.4.7, oká III.1.4.5, oko, oko-yawó III.1.4.8, okokí I.4.2.0, oko-náaní III.1.2.9, III.1.4.9, ókro III.3.1.0, óktšin, ókšin II.1.1.1c, okú III.1.3.2, III.1.4.8, okúwodú III.1.4.12, okpá I.4.1.1, okpoló III.1.3.1, III.1.4.5, olábísí III.1.4.13, oléde III.1.2.8, olele III.1.4.3, olóbót II.1.1.2, ol-ókpá III.1.4.8, ombránda, II.1.1.4a, ombwéla II.1.1.1f, omo III.1.4.8, omo-ašikpa III.1.4.1, omolanke III.1.4.0n, III.1.4.10, omolé III.1.4.1,5, ómómí III.1.4.12, on II.1.1.2, ondaán VI.6.3.0, ondagráwn II.1.7.2n, oní VI.4.4.4, onto-wúm II.1.7.1d, ónyon I.4.1.4, II.1.1.1d, VI.6.2.0, op II.1.1.2, órayt II.1.1.3a, orintš II.1.1.1c, II.1.3.5b, oró III.1.4.3, óskrú I.4.2.0, osšyí III.1.3.3, ospítul II.1.3.5a, osú III.1.2.2a, ot II.1.6.3, otí III.1.4.1, otí-otí III.1.4.1, ot-kón II.1.7.3a, óyá III.1.4.12, oyé III.1.4.11, oyl I.4.3.0, II.1.1.2, oypolóy II.4.1.0, ozbí II.1.1.7.

padí II.1.4.4, pádna II.1.1.1a, padžóbsin II.1.7.1d, pakét II.1.3.6, palampó VI.7.1.1, pamáy, II.1.1.2, II.1.3.5b, pam-áyl, pamáyn II.1.1.2, pantáp-pantáp VI.4.4.3, panteté III.1.2.11, pantúf II.3.2.0, panyá, panyá-mán II.2.4.2, II.2.4.4, paŋks II.1.1.5, páópa IV.1.4.16, papišó paramóle III.1.4.5, paravéntšo II.1.4.5, pas II.1.4.4, VI.4.5.0, pasó II.1.1.7, patá III.2.2.4, IV.1.4.10, pay IV.2.4.9, páylot II.1.3.6, "peak" VI.5.1.3, pedž II.1.1.1c, péndá IV.1.4.7, pegí-bóy IV.1.4.4, pekró III.4.4.4, penárití II.1.1.1b, II.1.8.5, pénsul II.1.1.4a,c, II.1.8.3, penswá IV.7.3.4, pep II.1.1.1a,2, pépe I.4.1.1, II.1.1.2, pepékulé III.1.2.11, III.1.4.11, pérébu IV.1.4.10, perete VI.7.1.1, pétépété II.3.2.6, pétési III.4.4.7, petéte II.2.4.3, pétikul II.1.1.3,3d, pí, pí IV.1.4.16, "piccaninny" VI.5.1.3, pífówayfó II.1.1.8n, pikín I.2.4.4, II.1.5.4, II.2.2.1, II.2.4.4, píla II.1.1.2, píls II.1.7.1a, píma III.4.4.2, pindžáma II.1.1.4a, piní III.4.4.2c, III.4.3.1a, pínťíkílí IV.2.4.1, pípípí III.4.4.8, písí, písí II.1.1.8, písis II.1.1.1b, II.1.3.5b, pístél II.1.4.4, pístél-tití II.1.8.3, pit II.1.1.2,3, II.1.7.2n, pítípítí II.3.2.6, III.4.4.8, plába II.1.5.4, II.2.2.1, II.2.4.6, plantín II.1.3.5b, plédža II.1.8.5, plet-písis II.1.7.3, pléšo II.1.1.1b, II.1.3.5a, plit II.1.1.3, po II.1.1.2, II.1.3.5b, II.1.4.2, póda II.1.1.2, podapóda IV.2.4.4, podogí II.1.7.1b, II.2.2.1, II.2.4.4, podžó IV.5.3.0, podžó-landa-fút IV.5.3.0, poka-máta II.1.4.4, "Poor Peter Hill bird" VI.5.1.2, popó IV.1.4.5, posmótin II.1.1.1d, pot I.4.2.0, II.1.1.2, II.1.7.2, póto II.2.4.4, IV.2.4.3, poyó II.

1.1.8n, IV.2.4.3, pək'pént II.1.1.3e, II.1.4.5, pəkipáyn II.1.1.3e, polí II.1.7.1, politrák II.1.1.4b,c, poliwág II.1.4.4, pəŋ I.4.1.4, II.1.1.1d, II.1.3.5a, pəŋkín II.1.3.5a, popá II.2.2.1, II.2.4.1, pəpó II.2.2.1, II.2.4.3, póró IV.1.4.1, póróó! IV.1.4.8, pot II.2.4.1, potóp VI.1.1.5, potopóto VI.3.1.6, pəyl II.1.1.2,3, prez I.4.1.2, II.1.1.1b, pred I.4.1.1, II.1.1.3, preg II.1.1.7, prempré III.4.4.3, presa-pín VI.1.1.6, propáks II.1.1.5, pumóy IV.1.4.4, pun II.1.1.3, pupú III.4.2.2, III.6.2.3, pus-yáy II.1.7.3a, puš II.1.1.1b, put II.1.1.1a,2, pwel II.1.1.2,3, II.1.3.5c, pweló II.1.8.5.

rábiš II.1.1.1b, rábit II.1.7.3, ráfta II.1.1.4,4c, rákit I.4.2.0, II.1.1.2, rákpala III.1.2.11, rámpul II.1.1.2,3c, rámpul-džáret II.1.7.1d, ramšák II.1.1.1b, rapél II.1.1.1b, ras II.1.1.5, ratlán II.1.1.4b, rawl II.1.1.4b, raysbréd II.1.7.2n, ráyzin-bomp II.1.4.4, rentš II.1.1.2, II.1.4.4, rébren II.1.1.1a, red II.1.1.2, redžé III.1.4.7, rénk(iš) II.1.4.4, rep I.4.1.2, I.4.3.0, II.1.1.2, res II.1.7.2n, ret II.1.1.2, ríbit II.1.3.5a, ribs II.1.7.1a, rídikul II.1.1.3e, riks II.1.1.5, riktšó II.1.1.1c, riltred II.1.1.1b, ri-máynd II.1.8.5, ripót II.1.7.2, risk II.1.1.5, rízín II.1.3.5b, rog II.1.3.6, rogbéngbé IV.2.4.11, rokotó III.1.2.4, III.1.3.2, romantízín II.1.1.1d,4a, romaróma IV.1.4.6, rombó IV.5.4.6, ronsó, ronšó IV.3.4.11, rónkó IV.2.4.6, IV.8.2.5, rózis II.1.7.1a, rožžóys II.1.4.4, rožžú III.1.4.6, rəŋ II.1.3.5a, rónáta I.4.1.1, II.1.1.3a, rəŋ-belé VI.1.4.2, rəróm II.1.1.1b, rōwé I.4.2.0, rúdnes II.1.7.3a, rumbó IV.5.4.6, ruž II.1.1.1b.

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